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24 March 1986

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APPOINTMENT OF VICE PRESIDENT OPPOSED

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 30 Jan 86 p 3

[Commentary by Ahmad Abu-al-Fatah]

[Text] I pray to God Almighty that President Mubarak will not appoint someone to the post of vice president of the republic.

I disagree with many of my colleagues who are demanding that the president appoint somebody to that post.

Since the revolution of plundering and pillage, we have lived under a system that bequeaths the rule of Egypt to whomever has the post of vice president.

The system of inheriting power has robbed the Egyptians of their first and greatest right of choosing who is to govern them.

Egyptians do not take part in choosing whoever fills the post of vice president; rather he who is in power is the one who appoints him.

After the death of a president, a show takes place the like of which is not seen in any democratic state, for in no time the People's Assembly nominates the vice president to take over the presidency. and after that it announces the results of a popular referendum. . and God knows, and indeed the Egyptian people know, the results of these referenda before they are announced.

When a person knows the outcome of a referendum before it is held, why should he go to the trouble of going to the referendum committee and standing in line? There is no need to bother!

Thus the new president takes over the presidency without a contest and without a true popular selection in which candidates compete.

Demand To Amend the Constitution

Many writers insist on the need to amend the constitution so that the new constitution will stipulate that the presidency be attained through free and

direct elections, and also that the election of the vice president be subject to the same conditions.

What is always repeated in response to those who hold that view is that there is no need to amend the constitution.

A constitutional amendment, if it occurs, will force the president, if he wants to renominate himself, to run in the elections and compete against other candidates. If the existing constitution allows him to avoid headaches and waging a battle against others, why should he change it?

In 1976 I asked President al-Sadat to renew his presidency by running in free and open elections, and it was certain that after the victories of the October war he would win over everyone who might run against him, but he refused, and these articles of mine were the first hints of his anger against the views that I hold.

Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and Anwar al-Sadat often told me and dozens of others that they would leave the government, and that they hoped to get away from it and lead normal lives, and each one of them repeated his determination not to renew his presidency. But each one renewed it, and more than that, each accepted the presidency for the duration of his life.

'Abd-al-Nasir and al-Sadat changed the republican system into perpetual rule, and that is not brought about by democratic systems, but only by monarchic ones.

The republic of Egypt has come to be governed by kings, and even though kings possess but do not govern, 'Abd-al-Nasir and al-Sadat used to possess and govern.

If the Constitution Is Not Amended

The official view so far has been that there is no need to amend the constitution.

Therefore I ask that the president not appoint a vice president until Egypt is rid of the peculiar situation that determines the transmission of power.

One might ask how things will be in the future.

According to the constitution that is prescribed for the Egyptians, it is decreed that the president of the People's Assembly become the head of state until someone to take over the presidency is elected.

What is certain is that the president of the People's Assembly, whether its current president or any president that came after phony elections, will find that his nomination to the presidency by the assembly will not be accepted by the Egyptians, and if the assembly insists on nominating him, Egyptians will be aroused and they will proclaim their rejection by every means possible.

Sometimes it is said that the assembly might nominate somebody whom the majority of members believe has the power to be violent and oppressive, or who might try to seize power by force.

I believe that the Egyptians would not submit to such a presidency. They will not accept being dominated by somebody who inflicts on them all kinds of torture, violates the honor of girls and women, or plunders Egypt's wealth.

Such an undertaking will meet with resistance from the Egyptians. Some might imagine that it would not happen, but anyone who studies the psychology of the Egyptians, or who delves into researching true Egyptian feelings will easily discover and feel happy that following the revolution of plundering and pillage certain crimes are no longer acceptable, and it is no longer possible to be deceived by false statements and verbal promises and pacifications.

The sole outcome, which may occur without a struggle or following one, is the right being returned to those to whom it belongs; in other words, the Egyptians will have the right to choose a president, who will be in power for a limited period, from among candidates who compete with one another for their trust.

End to the Hereditary Transmission and Permanence of Power

The president's refraining from appointing a vice president is the sole means of ending the system of hereditary transmission and permanence of power.

Naturally, an end to the hereditary transmission and permanence of power can be brought about by changing the provisions of the constitution that Egyptians are subject to, but as long as this constitution is in force it will not be changed. So there is no way to end that situation except through the method I have detailed and the possibilities which I have explained when Egypt is faced with a vacancy in the presidency and is looking for someone to fill the post.

The Presidency . . . and Power

One might ask why I am calling for a system that might threaten the country with turmoil whenever the presidency become vacant.

The answer to that is that in order for the affairs of the nation to be set straight, and for ways to be opened up for Egyptians to set up a government that they can keep an eye on through deputies elected by the free will of the Egyptians and through a press that is not controlled by the government and dominated by the likes of the liar Musaylimah . . . in order for such a government to be achieved, Egyptians must have the right in fact and not in appearance to elect the president of the country and the members of the representative assembly.

The constitution imposed on the Egyptians does not give them the right to make this choice, and it does not give them the right to have power over the nation, the first indication of which is the election of the president of the republic. In fact, this constitution, when it strips the power from the people, gives it to the ruler.

The people of Egypt should have the "power" and the president of the republic should have the "presidency." When the constitution stole power from the Egyptians and turned it over to an artificial assembly which the president of the republic can dissolve and upon which he can impose laws such as the election law that transfers votes of opposition members to the government's party, and through which he can renew his presidency as long as he likes--when that happened, the presidency and power were combined.

The removal of the people's power is the most repugnant form of attack against their rights and against democracy . . for is not democracy the rule of the people for the people?

Why the Insistence on Egyptians' Right To Elect the President?

In order to answer this question, let us remember what happened in France in 1980.

The newspaper LE CANARD ENCHAINE published an article in which it accused the elected president of the French republic, Giscard d'Estaing, of having accepted a gift from Bokasa. It continued to pursue the president of the republic with this scandal week after week until it published the documents that proved what it attributed to the president.

The French president did not rise up against the freedom of the press, he did not say that democracy had been improperly used, he did not subject the newspaper to an investigation, and of course he did not try to seize it.

What is certain is that the French newspaper's campaign over the diamond that Bokasa had presented resulted in Giscard d'Estaing's loss in the presidential elections in which he ran in an effort to renew his presidency.

The French newspaper LE MONDE published accusations against the French government, saying that it was its organizations that had blown up the ship "Green Peace," the ship of the Green Peace movement, in Auckland harbour in New Zealand.

LE MONDE published details of the military operation, thus belying the claims of President Mitterrand, Prime Minister Fabius, and Defense Minister Hernu that France had had nothing to do with the blowing up of the ship.

The government did not seize the newspaper, nor did it investigate it. On the contrary, the defense minister resigned, and the head of the largest secret organization working on behalf of the French government was removed. Furthermore, three army officers and a fourth who was a noncommissioned officer were arrested on the charge of leaking military secrets to the press, without the investigation being extended to the newspaper. In addition to all that, the president of the republic sent a scathing letter to the prime minister, in which he stated that he had learned things from the press that the government had not informed him of.

No president in the state of France or in a democratic state can lay the blame for what happens in the country on democracy and threaten dire consequences. That is because democracy is not the property of the ruler, rather it is the

property of the people who choose and elect the ruler for a limited period, and then they reelect him if they wish, or elect somebody else; and that is the power of the people.

We Respect the Leader and Defend the Rights of Egyptians

The Egyptians who have rejected dictatorship and its legacy feel respect towards President Mubarak because he has not stained his hands with Egyptian blood or the wealth of the people, but at the same time they cannot but defend the political rights of the Egyptians and the need to adopt a sound and true democratic system.

We have been accused of being hostile to democracy, and of making a mockery of the freedoms that it grants us in order to stir up a rebellion, so I ask that the distinction be made between opposition members who stood firm and suffered in defense of Egyptians' rights, and between those who claim to defend democracy, like the liar Musaylimah, and like many of the members of the National Party, who were used as tools by a black dictatorship to torture and kill Egyptians and bury alive all freedoms in their infancy.

Then let us ask about those who are hostile to democracy. Are they those who stand in the ranks of the true and loyal opposition, or are they members of the ruling party?

Who is it who seized control of the foundations of government? Was it not the ruling party? And in this seizure by force and usurpation is there respect for democracy or hostility towards it?

Who is it who stole the votes of opposition members in People's Assembly elections? Was it the ruling party or the opposition parties? And in this seizure was there respect for democracy or hostility towards it?

A minister is the president of a bank, and collects several salaries and perks

For All These Reasons

For all of these reasons and for dozens of others, Egyptians are burned by the fires of prices, while the state treasury has become impoverished because of governments inflicting their practices on the Egyptians. For all these reasons, I pray to God that President Mubarak will not appoint a vice president, so that there will be hope that the Egyptians will get back their power, and that they will come to have the right to choose the president of the republic and the deputies, and that they will be given every power over the government.

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WAFD PARLIAMENTARIAN DISCUSSES IMMUNITY

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 30 Jan 86 pp 1, 11

[Article by Mustafa Shardi: "The Warning Is for You...Your Clothes Are on Fire!"]

[Text] I do not know exactly how many times the People's Assembly has honored me by revoking my parliamentary immunity. Personally I do not worry any more about counting or statistics. I am not unduly concerned any more about whether these petty vengeful attempts were achieved by legal or illegal means. It seems, however, as if a high-ranking member of the Assembly stands at its gate hawking a sale on revoking Mustafa Shardi's immunity. I am not exaggerating when I say that I do not know any more the number of those who accepted his invitation. All I know is that the first was Fawzi Ma'adh. There may be three and their fourth is Musa Sabri; and there may be four and their fifth is negotiating with him now. God knows what the National Party is contriving to do, and what the future will bring to it while it is in a state of fatal stupor blinding it to its internal affairs, to what is going on around it, what is happening in the Egyptian streets, and what the people are talking about everywhere.

I do not know whether it is a mere coincidence or a strange happening brought about by destiny, which escaped the attention of the ruling party with its customary intelligence, that my parliamentary immunity was revoked twice during the last fortnight only; once on account of Fawzi Ma'adh and the other on account of Musa Sabri. The timing for the two occasions occurred in the same fortnight during which Egypt witnessed the escape of the gang of four, a historic scandal by all measures, especially as three members of the gang, who were convicted by Egyptian justice and sentenced for 10 years hard labor, are related by blood and marriage to the most important political personality who is directly responsible after the president. One of them is the brother of the president of the People's Assembly, the second is his cousin, and the third is his brother-in-law. People inside or outside Egypt talk about nothing except this scandal after two of the gang were able to leave Egypt, and al-Mahjub's brother and his colleague Rif'at al-Bashir disappeared inside Egypt. In the meanwhile the Ministry of Interior shrugs its shoulders and reiterates: "The location of the aforementioned has not been found"(!)

even though they are the leaders of a gang that dissipated more than 1 billion pounds of Egypt's money and charged 180 million pounds in commission. It is strange and amusing that the security forces assume this embarrassing and suspicious position in the same week during which Egypt celebrates a festival that is dear to it, namely, Police Day, and after achieving a series of successful security efforts that deserved all our appreciation and admiration when the security authority foiled several attempts of sabotage and assassination targeting Arab personalities living in Egypt, and television broadcast recordings in video and audio asserting the capabilities of the security apparatus in Egypt, and the strength of its precise monitoring of all suspicious attempts.

But regrettably, all this stock of admiration and appreciation for the keepers of security, law, and order in Egypt was dissipated within a few days by that painful, impotent stand toward the gang of four because there is not one person who can believe for a moment that the Ministry of Interior apparatus does not know, at least, where al-Bashir and the younger al-Mahjub hide!

As I was writing this article the day before yesterday--Tuesday morning--I had not heard any news concerning the arrest of al-Bashir and the younger al-Mahjub. I also had not heard the mere probabilities or expectations of their imminent arrest. Even if the escaping gang leaders are arrested now, the great harm and the serious fracture that befell the National Party, its government, and its security apparatus cannot be repaired or treated or reduced from the point of view of the masses. The slipping away of half the gang abroad and the escape of the other half, even for one day, from imprisonment in compliance with and out of respect for the rules of justice is in the opinion of the people an unforgivable crime and adequate cause to bring about the downfall of a dozen ministries. In the view of the people, now and forever, the downfall of the National Party which is currently governing Egypt is the most distinct and aggravated result of this resounding economic and political scandal.

There is no doubt that the leaders of the National Party perfectly realize now the fact that their party does not have anything to lose any more since it does not have one iota of the masses' trust. The masses as well as the events have forced it to evade the Egyptian streets. Even the chance confrontation between its members and the people became unprecedented torture. The citizenry's words are sharper and quicker than knives' edges. Their sarcastic looks are more painful than whip lashes. Their comprehensive indignation foretells the tempest, the ambush and the threat. The only presence of the currently governing party is in the people's talk in homes, offices, factories, and the streets. Their bitter, angry, and tumultuous talk is indignant about inflation, corruption, hypocrisy and the floundering and general disruption which almost permeates every arena, every site, and every place in Egypt.

The National Party depends now only on the club of Central Security, which preserves the Party's authority by force and terrorism, and on the Ministry of Interior's famous computer which will practice its well known

activities in any election attended by the Party of the "vast majority" whose reality we all know.

If the National Party realizes that it does not have anything now to lose, this realization is clearly reflected in most of its practices, its little heed of the public opinion, the absence of feelings of diffidence or timidity towards the public in several positions that are recorded by the Egyptian people with plenty of attention and contempt.

Besides, this realization affects, in a serious way, the activities and behavior of many members of the party to such an extent that the honorable Egyptians who found themselves in the trench of the ruling party for reasons that may take long to elucidate have started to feel that the trench in which they stand, in their belief that it defends Egypt's interests, has been transformed into a deep pit, even a frightful abyss, in which Egypt's interests may fall and get lost. Many of those honorable people feel terribly confused. The winds of deviation have been transformed into terrifying tempests within the ranks of the Party to which they belong. The slogans of innocence have fallen under the heels of the dinosaurs of corruption. It has become difficult to direct some of the necessary questions to the leadership, such as: Where is the innocence? Where is the prosecution of corruption? Why is the deviant and indicted governor still occupying his seat? Why is the ex-minister who ruined Egypt still occupying his sensitive party leadership position? What is the party leadership going to do about the yoke of accusation in the cases of refunding the confiscated money to the smugglers if it tightens around the neck of that minister? How did the members of the gang of four manage to escape? Who handed them new passports? Where do al-Bashir and the younger al-Mahjub hide now? Is the Ministry of Interior really ignorant of the location of those who were sentenced to imprisonment and hard labor and who suddenly evaporated from the grasp of the law? Why was this gang allowed to practice its activities for a whole year in spite of what AL-WAFD paper published about it in April 1984? Have the obstinate party practices attained the point of hurting Egypt's higher interests to this dangerous extent? What do we tell the people when we are confronted with their questions everywhere? What will history, which nobody can lie to and which preserves the facts despite their hideousness and cruelty for the sons and grandsons, say?

I heard these serious and bitter queries from several members of the National Party and its representatives in the People's Assembly. I cherish the friendship of many of them. I also heard that they discussed these queries in their party's meetings without getting clear and decisive answers. Instead they were told such statements as: Do not listen to skeptic attempts to cast doubt... Do not pay attention to what the opposition press publishes because they want nothing but incitement! These are the same statements that appear almost daily in the government papers together with some warning and threatening statements about "canceling" democracy, in addition to what the ruling authority writers reiterate like parrots or like the bear that killed its master with a heavy rock. They throw warning and threatening rocks at us every day and

reiterate statements such as 'the opposition is playing with fire,' while they do not realize that their rocks fly directly at the regime and that the fire they talk about is burning their clothes.

The queries posed by the opposition in its press are the same queries that the honorable members of the National Party direct at the leadership of their party, no more and no less!

I feel that the warnings regarding the dire consequences and the intimidation about playing with fire should be directed from the opposition to the ruling party and not the reverse. It would be better for that party to wake up quickly from its stupor, look around itself and look inside itself, where the conflicts have been transformed into battles, and determine the direction from which the danger truly comes and where the fire is actually burning. It may thus be able to save whatever can be saved, with due apologies to the film now being shown to Egyptians.

12655/9604

CSO: 4504/199

EGYPT

COMMENTARY ON ISRAELI POLICIES, TABA NEGOTIATIONS

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 27 Jan 86 p 5

[Commentary by Muhammad Hayawan in the column "A Word of Love"]

[Text] History cannot be changed. Its events are fixed, even if our positions differ when we look at it. Even if a change in the map takes place, we cannot change history. Israel's black history cannot be transformed into a white book merely because Israel wants it to be, without Israel at least trying to change the present in order for us to transcend the past.

The map of Israel is defined by the 1948 UN resolution establishing Israel. In spite of that, we are talking about the 1967 borders, a serious change in the map. Even more serious is the fact that Israel does not want to stop at borders or to announce its final borders. It wants to go on endlessly.

In order for Taba to return to its owners, Israel wants to change history. But it is also stipulating a difficult and strange condition. It wants to impose upon Egypt the condition that Egypt not welcome any terrorist onto its soil--onto Egyptian soil! This condition is a danger for Israel itself. Perhaps Israel wanted to block any negotiations about Taba; for if we carried out this condition, we should never welcome Begin, Sharon, Shamir, Peres, or any of Israel's leaders, because they have a history of terrorism.

If they say that the terrorism they carried out was necessary for the establishment of Israel, we can say to them that Yasir 'Arafat is doing it so that a Palestinian state can be established.

If they say that they turned a new leaf after the establishment of Israel, we say that "Arafat, too, may do so after obtaining the rights of the Palestinian people. Indeed, he announced in the Cairo communique that he would stop any operations outside the occupied territories. As for operations within the occupied territory, they are legitimate resistance sanctioned by all international laws. Europe practiced such resistance throughout the Nazi occupation.

Nevertheless, Israel continues to practice terrorism--and outside its territory, if Palestine be its territory! Sharon carried out the Sabra and

Shatila massacre while he was an accountable minister. Begin carried out the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor while he was an accountable prime minister. Peres carried out the Tunis raid while he was an accountable prime minister.

Terrorism is part of Israel's history and of its present and future. Israel practices terrorism through its state agencies, not through volunteers or by gangs not subject to its control. Such being the nature of Israel, it follows naturally that if Egypt accepts Israel's conditions, Egypt should refuse to welcome any Israeli official in Egypt. The conditions of the Israeli proposal say as much.

Simply stated, the problem is that Israel wants to breathe life into a dead body. Israel itself was the murderer when it attacked Lebanon and when it unlawfully seized a piece of Egyptian land. We do not object to reviving the dead body, but only on condition that we begin with the basic problems: Taba and the other unlawfully seized spots along the Egyptian borders should be returned, and there should be a full withdrawal from Lebanon. Afterwards, it will be possible for us to look at the remaining parts of the dead body in order to breathe life into it, in spite of the fact that we did not kill it and were not a cause of its demise.

12937/9435
CSO: 4504/193

EGYPT

ISRAEL'S KAHANE CRITICIZED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 27 Jan 86 p 18

[Commentary by Anis Mansur in the column "Positions"]

[Test] I said to a high official, "Do you know Rabbi Kahane? Have you read? Do you want to read more about this man?"

Not wishing to make any reply to the question, he merely knitted his brows, pressed his lips together, and quickly raised his hand into the air, as if he were killing a wasp. Then his feet moved as if the wasp had fallen on the ground and he were crushing it. He turned his head; his face turned all colors, indicating that he wanted to change the subject because of the disgust he felt either at the mention of the name or at the image of the person.

So I said, "Let us talk about AIDS, then, a disease said to have come from African monkeys, to have been transferred to man, to have crossed to the Bahama Islands and thence to the United States and Europe, and to have returned finally to Africa."

The man got up, despairing of our finding an entertaining and appetizing subject that would inspire the soul to laugh. We have enough trouble, sorrow, and worry as it is! He quickly waved goodbye, as if events had so hemmed in the two of us that there was nothing left but to separate.

Kahane, however, is a distasteful story that we must take seriously and that we must follow up and analyze. This bigoted and insane man calls for emptying Israel of everyone who is not a Jew: the state is religious, and it must remain so! However, what this man says in a loud voice is what millions of Israelis and Jews around the world are saying in a whisper. And he is gaining votes every day.

The new Nazism in Germany is similar: it is a reaction to the contempt and continual humiliation to which the Germans were subjected by the occupation forces and by American films. Every day it is becoming evident to the Germans that the Americans and the European peoples are treating them as savage beasts, not as a civilized people defeated in the war. Nazism, then, just as it was previously, is a restoration of respect for the German people.

Every day, the number of believers in the scientific, historical, and military greatness of the Germans is increasing, and they believe that the war has ended. The American presence, however, tells them that the war has begun and that the Germans and the Japanese are waiting for the next opportunity!

12937/9435
CSO: 4504/193

MEDIA POLICY CRITICIZED

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 29 Jan 86 p 3

[Editorial: "Original Democracy and Alternative Democracy"]

[Text] The sole meaning of Safwat al-Sharif's continuing as minister of information, in spite of widespread criticism of media policy that goes beyond those working for the government to the general republic, is that the government does not care whether the minister succeeds or fails, and it does not care whether public opinion is pleased or outraged. This is the meaning of democracy as the government understands and applies it: that the government can do as it pleases, and the people must be compelled to keep quiet, and if they talk, get angry or protest, then the army of senior government clerks is ready, and deadly accusations are there: sedition, instigation, inflammatory behavior, and the communist minority; and lately a hidden threat has been added, in that the government has become uneasy and some of its institutions will no longer tolerate opposition, and that the alternative that these institutions propose is very serious. Thus Egyptians now have the choice of being silent under the original conditions, or being silent under the alternative!

Two weeks ago, the information minister had the utter "nerve" to announce before the People's Assembly that the official media was truthful, that it broadcast all facts and pieces of information, and that it was democratic, granting all opinion holders and representatives of all parties the opportunity to speak on the media systems owned by the people. The truth of these words was demonstrated by the television that same week, when the most important things said by opposition deputies commenting on the minister statements were deleted. and the viewers were punished by being forced to listen for 2 whole hours to the minister's paltry editorial speech that he gave in the People's assembly!

At the very moment during which the minister was lying openly before parliament, the illustrious television and newspaper investigator Mufid Fawzi contacted AL-AHALI's editor-in-chief, and invited him to participate in a television report that he was preparing on the occasion of Police Day. Its theme centered on a frank discussion of everything that was not allowed to be talked about with respect to the relationship between the police and the people. After a short discussion, during which Mufid Fawzi gave assurances that

everything said would be broadcast, Husayn 'Abd-al-Razzaq accepted the challenge, and the program was recorded more than a week before it was to be broadcast. The editor-in-chief answered two questions that the program directed to him, and two other questions were directed at the interior minister, Ahmad Rushdi!

On the day that "Inquiry into the Forbidden" was scheduled to be broadcast, the daily papers that publish the television programs were cautious, and they all stated that in case it was not broadcast, a television movie would be shown, and not a single one of them, except AL-JUMHURIYAH, mentioned that opposition members would be among the program's guests. That meant that the program had run into trouble with censorship, and that its broadcast was something that was being considered and reviewed!

The program was broadcast, but it was a media disgrace by all standards. It appeared that the many deletions that it had been subjected to had harmed the presentation, for no-one understood half of what the minister said and half of what his guests said. Naturally, most of what had been cut out came out of what AL-AHALI's editor-in-chief had said and the interior minister's replies to him. This was cut out of the editor-in-chief's answer: "Even if the current edition of AL-AHALI has not been confiscated, it has twice been threatened with confiscation. The first was when it began to publish the book "The Autumn of Wrath" by Prof Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, and the government threatened to confiscate it if it continued to publish that. The second time came after the outcome of the May 1984 elections were announced. Because of a headline that said, "Elections Are Fraudulent," the presses were shut down and printing was stopped until contacts could be made to allow the edition to be issued. "This statement of his was deleted from what was broadcast: "Even if AL-AHALI was not confiscated, the existing press law, the emergency law and the law that was enacted especially because of AL-AHALI's printing a segment of "The Autumn of Wrath"; all these laws make of confiscation a sword hanging over the newspapers!"

Censorship deleted some of the editor-in-chief's answer to the second question, everything that he said about the negative aspects of the police, and it left in what he said about the positive aspects so it forced him to support what he does not support. Among the negative aspects that he had mentioned were: treating citizens in police stations violently and torturing them; the way in which opposition members are treated as hostile elements, which drives citizens away from political and party action; the phenomenon of periodic arrests; spying on party headquarters and their newspapers; the phenomenon of punishing politicians without a serious investigation or taking any administrative measures, even if it were just to stop the accused officers and remove them from positions of influence; the deteriorating situation; the unlawful treatment in the prisons; and the use of violence to suppress the right to assemble and demonstrate. It also deleted 90 percent of the question that he directed at the interior minister; included in what was cut out was: the reason for government opposition to the formation of a Nasserite party or a communist party and the minister's opinion on which of the two would be better for public security; the violent suppression of demonstrations, which changes them from peaceful demonstration into violent operations, an opinion that the minister had expressed while he was director of Cairo security following the

January 1977 demonstrations, that the right to demonstrate peacefully and lawfully was in his opinion a human right!

What is funny is that the radio review that came out on Saturday and that included a report on the program broadcast some of what the censor had deleted from the program. What is even funnier is that the deputy information minister suddenly remembered after 8 months that Husayn 'Abd-al-Razzaq had a book on the market about January 18 and 19. He thought that what was being sold was the first printing that had been published in Beirut in 1979 and which came out at that time, so he applied the law that had been enacted on account of the book "The Autumn of Wrath" and confiscated it to punish the author for demanding that the law be repealed, but he forgot in his excessive haste that what was on the market was the Egyptian printing, which he could not confiscate without seeking permission from the prosecutor!

The question now is who was it who ordered the deletion of all this from the program. Was it the interior minister, who accepted the questions and responded to the comments? Or was it the information minister, who has the power to delete from what the president of the republic says? Or was it the two of them, who are members of the same government, whose democratic slogan is: Shut your mouths under the original situation, rather than shutting them under an alternative rule!

12547/9312

CSO: 4504/200

EGYPT

BRIEFS

TOURISM RECOVERING FROM SETBACKS--Mr Fu'ad Sultan, minister of tourism, announced that tourism in Egypt has begun to return to normal after the incidents of the Italian ship and the Egyptian airliner. At a news conference attended yesterday by 40 journalists and reporters from throughout the world, he said that this is clearly visible from the charter flights that arrived in Egypt during the holidays and during the months of December and January, and that their number has increased over that of last year. The minister stated that hotel occupancy rates reached 100 percent in Luxor and Aswan and that Alexandria will see a great deal of tourist activity this summer. He mentioned that he would be meeting with a group of Arab investors during February and that they had chosen areas in the south of the Red Sea for investment and the building of tourist villages. Mr Fu'ad Sultan said that the ministry's plan concentrates on the development of tourism in new areas and on encouraging Egyptian, Arab, and foreign capital to invest in these areas. [By Mustafa al-Badawi] [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 30 Jan 86 p 8] 12937/9435

CSO: 4504/193

LIBYA

PRESS RELEASE ON LIBYAN-IRANIAN MIXED COMMISSION

LD161550 Tripoli JANA in English 1405 GMT 16 Feb 86

[Text] Tripoli, Jumada Athani 5, 16 Feb (JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY)--A press release was issued yesterday in both Tripoli and Tehran following the meetings of the Libyan-Iranian mixed commission asserting revolutionary cohesion between the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the Islamic Republic of Iran and revolutionary forces capable of entering battle to counter imperialism and Zionism so as to establish an international revolutionary popular Islamic struggle front.

The press release urged support for people's revolutions and stand by oppressed masses enabling them to set up their people's authority and assert control over their resources and rid themselves of all forms of oppression and exploitation.

Iran reiterated its belief that the Gulf of Sirte is an integral part of the Libyan Arab territorial waters and its total support for the Libyan Arab people in countering all American imperialist and Zionist plots.

Iran condemned state terrorism being conducted by the United States against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The press release said "Libya and Iran reiterate their total support for the Chadian Transitional Government for National Unity headed by Goukouni Oueddei asserting that the Chadian issue is an African problem whose settlement should be found within the Organisation of African Unity without interference of France or any other foreign power. [no closing quotation mark]

The Iranian side reaffirmed that Iraq is for the Iraqi's and every inch of it belongs to its Arab-Islamic people and Iran has no designs in Iraq or any territorial claims and that Iran is seeking the establishment of fraternal relations, stability and good neighbourliness amongst the countries of the region.

The press release reasserted the stand of the Libyan Arab people by the Iranian Islamic Revolution in countering the fascist regime of Saddam so as to quicken its downfall and that only the overthrow of the regime, which imposed a criminal war on Iran, will bring the war to an end so as to secure balance and stability in the region. The two sides expressed satisfaction towards the escalation of struggle by the Muslim Arab people of Iraq against the fascist regime of Saddam and its positive effects on conditions of political change in Iraq in favour of its patriotic forces and their options. The two parties condemned the use of chemical weapons by the Iraqi fascist regime.

The joint communique emphasized the need for action to counter the reduction in oil prices plot hatched by imperialism, monopolies and multinationals in conjunction with reactionaries. They reaffirmed the decisions by secretaries of oil of Libya, Iran and Algeria on confronting this plot and their call to other OPEC members to shoulder their responsibilities, in this respect, so as to preserve the unity and interest of their people.

Considering the firm stands towards the Palestinian cause, the communique asserted the commitment of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Islamic Republic of Iran to the total liberation of Palestine and the elimination of the Zionist entity in conformity with their understanding of the nature of the conflict. It is a conflict for existence and not a border conflict.

The two sides reasserted their total opposition and rejection of any treacherous approach aimed at the liquidation of the Palestinian cause and their determination to foil any solutions put forward or planned by America and Zionism in collaboration and coordination with Arab reactionaries and the Palestinian reactionary and capitulationist wing.

The Iranian side declared its support for peace efforts being exerted by the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in Chad and its condemnation of all forms of colonial interference there and the subversive role being played by France and America in supporting mutinous Habre and blowing up any chances for national reconciliation and peace in this African country.

The communique saluted the heroic struggle of the Lebanese Arab Muslim people against Zionism and its agents foiling the capitulationist 17th May agreement, driving out NATO forces, liberating many parts of Lebanese territory from Zionist occupation. The communique called for the escalation of struggle to eliminate completely the Zionist entity and the eviction of occupiers from all Arab and Islamic lands.

The communique reasserted the need to consolidate the struggle of the people of South Africa and the Namibian people against the racist white minority in South Africa. It condemned the policy of murder and genocide being executed by the barbaric racist regime against the two African peoples. It warned against the seriousness of the existing alliance and

organic racist entities in South Africa and occupied Palestine and the danger of Zionist penetration of Africa.

The communique strongly condemned the African countries which resumed diplomatic relations with the Zionist enemy to the detriment of the cause of common struggle between the African people and other peoples the world over.

The two sides reaffirmed the importance of expanding the scope of economic, commercial, technical and scientific cooperation and realisation of exchange between the two countries in these fields in implementation of the Libyan-Iranian mixed commission's decisions.

/9604

CSO: 4500/90

LIBYA

TRADE WITH LIBYA IN STEADY DECLINE

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 10 Jan 86 p 5

[Article by Johan Myrsten; first paragraph is an introductory summary before the article]

[Text] Sweden's import trade with Libya is now very small and the exports continue to sink from an earlier, steady level. Libya can no longer afford to order as much from abroad as it once did.

Last Wednesday the Minister for Foreign Trade Mats Hellstrom gave the American ambassador to Stockholm an oral answer to the effect that Sweden will not participate in any boycotts other than those announced by the UN Security Council.

However Sweden's purchase of goods from Libya has already shrunk drastically during the last few years. This has happened because the shrinking purchases of crude oil are now being made primarily from the North Sea producers rather than from the Middle East.

The import trade has experienced large fluctuations during the eighties. In 1982, imports were multiplied tenfold to slightly more than two billion kronor (almost exclusively crude oil). Two years later they were literally down to zero. During the first three quarters of 1985 Sweden bought 53 million kronor worth of Libyan mineral oil products.

The export of tradegoods to Libya on the other hand, has shown a much more even development. In each of the years 1982, 1983, and 1984 this export brought in more than 580 million kronor, in current prices. This was a long stagnation when inflation is taken into account, and in 1985 this decline steepened. The three first quarters of 1985 the export returned 360 million kronor, which was 18 percent then the corresponding period in 1984.

The export to Libya represents approximately 0.2 percent of all Swedish exports.

Over and above the export of such goods as cars, machinery, other manufacturing products, paper, cardboard and wood products, both Skanska and Siab do contract and consultant work. However, neither is operating on the

same scale as in the giant projects of earlier years. Skanska employs about 75 Sweden in Libya. Among other things the company does technical maintenance for a hospital and a rehabilitation center in Benghazi, some repairing and rebuilding work in Tripoli and the preparations for desert service construction for oil companies.

"We think that Libya is an interesting market. We have had large jobs there and have a good reputation. We consider it important to stay here," reports Skanska's Public Relations Director Eva Sandblom.

The crisis between Libya and United States/Israel has not caused Skanska to order any of its workers home, though there are contingency plans for a possible future evacuation.

"However, we do not urge our employees to travel to Libya unless they are essential for the work there," says Eva Sandblom.

SWEDEN'S TRADE WITH LIBYA
(in million kronor, current prices)

	Export	Import
1985, 1-3 qts:	360	53
1984:	580.2	0.1
1983:	582.4	1463.6
1982:	581.4	2061.2
1981:	1010.8	206.4
1980:	321.4	1158.6

Sources: SCB [Statistical Central Bureau] and UDH [Trade Section of State Department]

13171/13068
CSO: 3650/118-E

LIBYA

BRIEFS

SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE MEETS AAPSO GROUP--Tripoli, Jumada Thani 6, 17 Feb (JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY)--The secretary and members of Libyan Arab solidarity and peace committee have met members of the delegation of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) who are on a visit to Jamahiriya. The visit of AAPSO's delegation has come within the framework of solidarity and backing to the Libyan Arab people in its courageous encounter with the threats of U.S. imperialism. A number of issues have been discussed at the above meeting that are related to solidarity and bilateral relations as well as ways for promoting them in a manner that may be of benefit to the Afro-Asian peoples. [Text] [Tripoli JANA in English 1429 GMT 17 Feb 86] /9604

GROUP DISCUSSES COOPERATION--Tripoli, Jumad Athani 5, 16 Feb (JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY)--The Arab-African Union's Council of Economic Chamber met this afternoon in Tripoli to endorse the process verabl of the first council. [as received] Furthermore, the council discussed best ways and means to secure cooperation between Libyan and Moroccan companies in various economic fields. The participants put forward proposals to increase cooperation through joint ventures between the two brotherly countries. Also, the possibility of holding fairs in both countries [was discussed]. It was agreed that a pavilion will be set up for the council and Moroccan institutions which have the council's membership at Tripoli international trade fair. An official source of the Council of Economic Chambers announced that the council will shortly publish an economic, cultural and social magazine and a united commercial guide for taking part in the meetings of joint sessions of the Arab Chambers of Commerce. [Text] [Tripoli JANA in English 1757 GMT 16 Feb 86] /9604

CSO: 4500/90

BRIEFS

'OBJECTION' TO 'ENCROACHMENT' ON IRAQ--The Islamic Republic of Mauritania is following with great concern the developments of the Iran-Iraq war, particularly following the fresh and dangerous escalation in the conflict in the past 5 days. Mauritania, which has always struggled for the respect of Islamic principles and international legitimacy, can only declare its objection to the encroachment on the territorial and maritime boundaries of a sisterly country that is a member of the Arab League and the Islamic Conference, namely the Iraqi Republic. Mauritania believes that the resolution of this conflict must be through negotiations and peaceful means, and it urges the United Nations organization to shoulder its responsibilities of safeguarding peace in the world. [Text] ["Text" of statement to the national press issued by Mohamed Mahmoud Ould Widadi, minister of culture, information, posts and telecommunications and government spokesman, date not specified--announcer-read] [Nouakchott Domestic Service in Arabic 2030 GMT 15 Feb 86] /9604

JOINT COMMISSION MEETING ENDS--The cooperation between Mauritania and Iraq is doing well. This assessment was made by the joint commission for cooperation between the two countries which ended its fourth session this morning in Nouakchott. In a final report signed on this occasion, the two sides expressed their determination to develop their cooperation and make it yield fruit, especially in the field of (?trade) exchanges. The minister of fisheries and maritime economy [Ethmane Sid 'Ahmed Ould Yassa] pledged this determination in a speech at the closing ceremony. Our deliberations, the minister pointed out, have been fruitful and the results achieved will undoubtedly enable us to develop and foster the fraternal relations between both countries. In conclusion, the minister reiterated the support of the Mauritanian people and of head of state Maaouiya Sid 'Ahmed Ould Taya for the Iraq people and for President Saddam Husayn. The Iraqi minister of housing and construction, Muhammad Fadil Husayn, expressed satisfaction with the outcome of this fourth session of the joint commission, which, he added, was another landmark on the path toward development and inter-Arab cooperation. This Iraq delegation was scheduled to leave Nouakchott today at midday. [Text] [Nouakchott Domestic Service in French 1430 GMT 17 Feb 86] /9604

CSO: 4500/89

MOROCCO

BRIEFS

PPS LEADER APPEALS TO PUBLIC--Rabat, 17 Feb (MAP)--Ali Ya'tah, secretary general of the Progress and Socialism Party [PPS] today appealed to Spanish public opinion and stand by Morocco for the liberation of the towns of Ceuta and Melilla and the adjacent islands occupied by Spain. During a popular rally the party organized yesterday, Sunday, in the town of Nador, in solidarity with the Moroccan nationals in Ceuta and Melilla, the secretary general of the PPS called on the Spanish Government to abandon its attempts which aim to obliterate the identity and landmarks of the two occupied towns. Ali Ya'tah mentioned the demonstrations, sit-ins in mosques, and the hunger strike the inhabitants of the two towns used to face the enforcement of the aliens law, and stressed that these peaceful actions were met with Spanish suppression and intransigence. The secretary general of the PPS referred to historic, geographical, and cultural evidence proving that Ceuta and Melilla are Moroccan and cited the Moroccan outstanding ulemas who emerged from these bays, including Al-Sharif al-Idrisi and al-Qadi Ayyad. [Text] [Rabat MAP in Arabic 1530 GMT 17 Feb 86] /9604

CSO: 4500/88

COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER INTERVIEWED

PM141019 Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 5 Feb 86 pp 5, 6

[Report by Ra'uf Mas'ad on interview with Sudanese Communist Party Secretary General Muhammad Ibrahim Naqad entitled "Dialogue With Sudanese Communist Party Secretary General Naqad: We Will Not Allow Sudanese Territory To Be Used as Passage for Aggression Against Egypt"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The part real, part legendary personality of Muhammad Ibrahim Naqad took form during the years he spent in hiding and being chased. The "National Security" department in Sudan had set up a special office to track him down and try to arrest him. He therefore indirectly contributed to creating the legend about the grey-haired short, lean man whom all the organs of the "butcher" [Numayri] failed to catch. He used to appear and disappear, walk in the markets, and even attend soccer matches as he pleased.

What also helped to create the legend was the man's own circumstances.

The "butcher" had liquidated his leading comrades in the Sudanese Communist Party [SCP] following the failure of Hashim al-'Ata's coup. Scores of the party cadres were arrested and the rest were scattered here and there. Naqad remained and was elected secretary general at a secret meeting of the party's Central Committee. He went underground together with those who remained, shouldering the responsibility of leading a party that was deeply wounded and of whose leadership only Al-Tijani al-Tayyib (now chief editor of the party paper AL-MIDAN) was left.

His public appearance following Numayri's downfall in order to make a speech and present his party's program was a political celebration and an important political event attended by the masses, both supporters and nonsupporters, who were drunk with the crushing victory against the "May regime" and whose imagination was fired by the legendary man whom all Numayri's security organs had failed to catch.

During that dramatic appearance he raised an extremely sensitive question, the "question of Halayib and relations with Egypt." This had important repercussions, especially in Cairo where the official media and the press reported the Halayib story and caused a wave of denunciation. Meanwhile,

"the Egyptian Nationalist Movement" felt embarrassed because Halayib, which Nagad raised, is considered Sudanese territory by the Sudanese while Egyptians view the raising of the issue "untimely." Halayib is a border area overlooking the Red Sea. The dispute over it was not resolved through negotiations but by a military decision by Cairo to send Egyptian troops to be stationed there.

For this reason, when my appointment with Naqad was fixed I decided to hear from him exactly what he and the SCP have raised regarding the question of Halayib in view of the fact that what was heard in Cairo through the official media and news channels was distorted and incomplete.

During the first days of January, Naqad went to Addis Ababa. There he met with John Garang, leader of the "mutiny" in the south (if we may call him so) and had discussions with him. The two men issued a joint statement which was published in AL-MIDAN. Naqad himself made a statement to the paper expressing his respect for the mentality of those who negotiated with him and calling for not belittling them. He said that there were differences of views with Garang, particularly regarding his attitude toward negotiating with Khartoum and toward elections. The paper published the views of both sides to the negotiations and left it to the public and to history to judge.

The party had publicly criticized itself in the Sudanese press and radio for the mistakes it made during Numayri's regime (which will be discussed later) and declared its full responsibility for those mistakes.

As Naqad himself said to me, laughing but serious, "you will hear a lot of self-criticism by our party in the next few months."

I said to him: Let us hear from you the story of your cooperation with Numayri.

He said: We did cooperate with "Mayu" (the Sudanese called Numayri's regime "Mayu"). This is true and here is the story for you:

In our appraisal of that stage of the party's life we made mistakes which we have dealt with through self-criticism. We did this publicly without trying to find justifications.

We were a party to an official progressive alliance, the Union of Socialist Forces. The alliance fought the 1968 elections for the constituent assembly with a program made public to the people and signed by the leaders of the alliance which included the SCP, the Nasirite Arab Nationalist Group, and the Socialist Democrats. After the elections, in early 1969, the agreement was that the alliance would propose a third candidate for the presidential elections in addition to the late Imam Hadi al-Mahdi and the Democratic Union's candidate the late Isma'il al-Azhari.

On the other hand, consultations were under way to develop the charter. At this juncture, the question of a military coup as a means of blocking the path of the rightist forces was broached should these have decided to enter the presidential elections.

The SPC opposed this and the SPC Central Committee in a March 1969 session endorsed a general stand rejecting coup tactics on the grounds that they serve interests of the bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie. The party announced that the safest way was to pursue defensive tactics and to bring the parties of the popular movement together.

The mistake we made then was that we did not declare to the public that we were no longer party to that alliance, especially since the party had promised the masses to let them know whether it joins a particular alliance and, if it leaves it, the reasons why.

This mistake, to which we referred, had adverse effects because when the coup [not further specified] took place, its program was taken from the charter of the Union of Socialist Forces and so it appeared to the people that the alliance was behind the coup and therefore responsible for it.

I must mention here an important event that occurred on 14 May, the day before the coup. I succeeded in arranging a meeting between Ja'far Numayri and 'Abd al-Khaliq Mahjub and Al-Shafi' Ahmad al-Shaykh so that Numayri could hear the SPC's view which was opposed to the coup. This actually took place.

The second mistake we made was after the coup when names of communist ministers in the cabinet were announced without the SCP being consulted first or its approval obtained. This led to the party losing its independence because it accepted the principle of appointing communist ministers when we should have rejected the participation of communist ministers by appointment.

The third mistake we made was that, despite our memo to the Council of Ministers regarding presidential orders No 2 and No 4 (disbanding parties and the parliament) we did not declare to the public that we opposed those orders because they usurped the people's fundamental rights and democratic freedoms however they may be disguised as a means for protecting the revolution.

[Ra'uf Mas'ad] Your raising of the issue of Halayib has caused many repercussions in Cairo. The official media have reported your statement in an unclear manner, thereby arousing legitimate nationalist feelings among the Egyptian people. Meanwhile, all the [Egyptian] forces that played a part against Numayri's regime and supported the Sudanese nationalist movement suddenly found themselves facing a situation which they described as "wrong in timing and tactics."

[Naqad] It is not our fault if Egyptian public opinion is not following up or is unaware of the question of Halayib. If we have caused an "embarrassment" to the Egyptian nationalist forces let them blame us if that pleases them.

If the Egyptian nationalist forces object to the timing then we can from now on agree with them on new timing.

But the question of Halayib is different now from what it used to be in 1968 and in 1957-1958, because now it is linked to the chain of U.S. bases and the joint Egyptian-Sudanese defense pact as well as to what is going on in Ra's Banas and the U.S. bases which Numayri agreed to set up on Sudanese territory, including a base on the Red Sea.

Perhaps you have followed the trial of the Falasha case. U.S. intelligence agents used the tourist village of al-'Aris, which overlooks the Red Sea and is not far from Halayib and the Egyptian borders, as their headquarters and center for their land, air, sea, and satellite espionage activities.

It is not only a question of our land, nor is it a stab in the back to Egypt. The Egyptian nationalist forces must remember our party's clear attitude toward the Halayib crisis in 1957-1958 and recall our strong stand together with the Sudanese nationalist forces during the 1956 aggression against Egypt. Furthermore, our party together with the Sudanese nationalist forces called for opening the Sudanese skies and airfields for what was left of the Egyptian Air Force at the end of the 1967 war.

All the Sudanese nationalist forces firmly believe that at no time should Sudanese territory become a passage for any external enemy to strike at Egypt from the south.

First and foremost, we support joint struggle with the Egyptian people, including its peasants, workers, intelligentsia, and soldiers but of course, it is not a struggle with the parasitic capitalism of the open-door policy nor with the entrenched right.

On this occasion I would like everybody concerned in Egypt to know that there is no problem called Egyptian-Sudanese relations. Rather, there are mistakes in Egyptian policy toward Sudan that should be made known. The first of these is support for Numayri for 16 years and, second, giving shelter to Numayri and protecting him from the just punishment he deserves for the crimes he committed.

[Ra'uf Mas'ad] Let us talk a little about Sudanese-Libyan relations.

[Naqad] It is natural for diplomatic relations between Sudan and Libya to be restored, but these relations should not be used against Egypt or against any other Arab or African country.

Before you leave I would like you to convey our greetings: Greetings to AL-AHALI, its writers, and its readers. Under Numayri's regime we used to make photocopies of it and distribute it to our comrades in jail. Greetings to all the Egyptian strugglers whom we have known personally or read their writings.

I would like to announce that the SPC has officially requested that a delegation representing the ruling NDP in Egypt to come and hold discussions with all Sudanese parties in order to know their views. We continue to extend this invitation although we have not yet received a response.

/9604

CSO: 4500/85

ATTORNEY-GENERAL CONDEMNS INCREASING VIOLENCE

EA210014 Omdurman Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] In light of the recent increase in violent incidents Attorney General 'Umar Abd al-'Ati has condemned the raising of doubts about democracy. In a statement to SUNA he stressed that in spite of increasingly strident assertions that we are not suited to democracy, it will remain the fundamental goal for which the people staged an uprising. They will not accept a substitute for it.

His excellency said the uprising took place in a disciplined and civilized manner. He therefore expects that this discipline, not violence, will continue to prevail during the transitional period. He said the failure of political parties to contain manifestations of violence and some people's intolerance of the opinions of others had led to an escalation of violence, as happened recently at Cairo University's Khartoum branch. This cannot be seen in isolation from the violent incidents that occurred in al-Ubayyid and Port Sudan. He said such matters could have been settled administratively or judicially. The attorney general said the legal and security authorities followed a policy of using legal methods to deter and terminate outbreaks of violence, unlike the defunct government, which went outside the law to deal with such incidents.

Appraising the efficiency of the security organs in carrying out their role of protecting democracy, his excellency said honesty enjoined him to say, frankly, that support for those organs, in particular the new internal security organ, is, unfortunately, lacking. He pointed out that a large number of officials in the Transitional Military Council are unconvinced of the need to support the internal security organ. Although it has some excellent men at its disposal, it lacks the simplest capability for security work.

His excellency went on to say that higher state authorities should realize that, in the democratic era, the responsibility of the security organ is more demanding than under an autocracy, because its employees follow legal procedures and apply them in order to protect the law itself. This means that the organ should be supported in its work.

The attorney-general appealed to certain officials to (?ignore) calls for the setting-up of a separate security organ far from [words indistinct]. He said this might be feasible in the future but the country's urgent security requirements require action to be taken now, without waiting for the setting-up of such a body.

GENERAL ON MODERNIZATION OF ARMED FORCES

JN011045 Khartoum SUNA in English 1020 GMT 1 Mar 86

[Text] Khartoum, 1 Mar (SUNA)--Sudan is seeking to modernize its Armed Forces and to equip them with new arms from the friendly and brotherly countries Deputy Chairman of the Transitional Military Council TMC and Deputy Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces Gen Taj al-Din 'Abdallah said in a statement made public here today.

He said reorganization of the Armed Forces has been carried out in accordance with the strategic positions of these forces to counter expected dangers. He did not name these dangers.

On renewing the Soviet-made military equipment, Taj al-Din said he would discuss the issue with Soviet officials during a visit he is to pay to Moscow soon.

He argued on the other hand that the Sudanese-Egyptian military agreement has never been intended to protect the regime of former President Numayri.

The agreement is more important for the Sudan contrary to the recent press propaganda against it, he asserted.

Taj al-Din further asserted that the agreement will be effective only if Sudan is menaced by a foreign aggression.

However, he said the recent agreement between Sudan and Libya has focused on training equipment and ammunition.

Concluding his statement Taj al-Din said Sudan will do its best to gather the Chadians for solving their problems through dialogue. We never intervene in the internal affairs of other countries, he said when asked about Sudan's position as regards the conflict there.

/9604

CSO: 4500/87

OPPOSITION DENOUNCES TRIBAL, RELIGIOUS PROVOCATIONS

EA112101 (Clandestine) Radio of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army
in English 1300 GMT 11 Feb 86

[Unattributed commentary: "The Port Sudan Incident, Prelude to Unjust Tribal War"]

[Text] We have learnt from our private sources in Port Sudan that in the course of two separate political rallies staged by the Sudan National Party and the Muslim Brotherhood respectively, mutual criticisms of one another were exchanged and clashes in which stones and fists were used between the two sides ensued. The army intervened on the side of the Muslim Brotherhood and resolved the conflict by shooting dead 16 people from the Nubah, meanwhile injuring 160 persons from both sides. A church was also burnt down.

As for the Sudanese mass media, it presented the clash as one which occurred between the Nubah and Bani Amir peoples. The manner in which the internal issues of Sudan are being presented has for a long time been assuming the pattern of leading the Sudanese people towards internal divisions along racial lines in a way not at all in keeping with our nationalism.

During Numayri's era of tyranny, we had been trying to explain to the people the concept of counter-propaganda that was being pursued by Numayri's mass media. We have now emerged from that dark period, trying to chart specific boundaries for the course of life to take in the Sudan of today in a serious manner that should do justice to everyone within the east, south, or any other direction or place in the country.

Ever since the 60's, there have been pacts between the General Union of the Nubah Mountains and the Beja Congress and indeed with other parties in the west and south for joint political action inside the Constituent Assembly. Each and every one of these parties honored the pacts without any breach.

At this critical moment, the traditional political parties are trying to follow their past practices, but they will never succeed, because the mentality of the Sudanese people is now quite different from the way it

has been in the past. There has been no alternative other than for the indigenous groups in the country, and in those of the backward areas, to stand and work together against such trends.

Recently a new organization called Sudan's Rural Solidarity was born. This solidarity has emerged as a new trend that carries an advanced consciousness with which the inhabitants of the backward areas are expected to protect their rights against laws in the midst of Khartoum minority government's wrangling, these governments, having been brought into existence since independence by the harmful partisan trends of the traditional parties. [sentence as heard]

There are no old conflicts or grudges between the Nubah and the Beja or the Bani Amir. In fact, within the spirit of the old government's agreement which the two sides preserved for their common political good, matters have only improved and what is more, members of the working class in Port Sudan and specifically from among the Nubah people have been discharging their duties towards the promotion of the nation quite satisfactorily. For a long time now, the two sides have been treating each other well and nothing has occurred to tarnish this unique relationship. As Sudanese, we should always seek to preserve the true identity of the nation, as well as shun the practice of mobilizing particular tribes to fight or provoke others.

The incident that occurred in Port Sudan should have been clearly and correctly presented. Since the problem was a political one, why have the Sudanese media--that is to say Siwar al-Dhahab's media--failed to present it in its reality as one between the Sudan National Party and the Muslim Brothers? The portraying of the problem as such would have been better than the racist way in which the national media presented it.

Moreover, the tendency to mobilize citizens along religious lines to destroy other peoples' places of worship is something unacceptable, because religion belongs to God, whereas the nation belongs to all. For this reason, the SPLA-SPLM [Sudanese People's Liberation Army-Sudanese People's Liberation Movement] stand as embodied in its manifesto is that there must be a religious freedom and that each and every individual should have the right to embrace the religion of his choice and that this religion, where be it Islam or Christianity, should be respected by all. The mosque and the church are both places for worshipping God and Islam is by no means something associated with the Muslim Brothers, inasmuch as Christianity does not belong to the Sudan National Party.

We in the SPLA call upon our brothers all over Sudan, and in particular those in Port Sudan, to exercise restraint and avoid any mutual, tribal, or ethnic provocation. In the final analysis, the Bani Amir, the Beja, and the Nubah, whether in the east, west, or any other place in Sudan still suffer from the domination of both the traditional political parties and the tyrants in power. It is this domination that prompted them to cooperate with one another and indeed to forge a new solidarity within the Sudan Rural Solidarity.

We in the SPLA-SPLM hope that all oppressed citizens in all parts of Sudan will work together in a responsible manner and avoid paying any heed to the traditional groupings that have been trying in the name of religion, tribe, or any other slogan to reap profits at the people's expense.

We also denounce the attitude of Siwar al-Dhahab's media which has failed to be responsible and fair and that is by portraying the conflict as tribal rather than political. We also know very well that the Sudan National Party itself is not a party for the Nubah alone. Other (?diverse) groups from different parts of the country are also members.

In conclusion, we hope that similar events will not recur once more in Port Sudan or in any other town in Sudan. We would also like the citizens and political leaders in the different areas to enlighten the masses so that they do not fall easy prey to reactionary elements, those who trade in the name of religion and leaders of the traditional political parties from whose injustice we have suffered a great deal since independence. Respect for the religion of others is respect for our own.

Long live our national unity! Religion belongs to God and the country to all! No profiteering in the name of religion! Down with the minority clique government of Khartoum! Our new Sudan is for all and long live the struggle of the SPLA-SPLM!

/9604

CSO: 4500/85

BRIEFS

SUDANAIR, RAILWAYS OFFICIALS ARRESTED--Khartoum, 14 Feb (SUNA)--Sudanair public relations Director Aminah Bint Wahab and Sudan Railways central region former Director Mustafa Nuri were arrested yesterday on charges of communicating false information to the authorities, said the prosecutor general. The two are accused of telling the defunct state security that some Sudanair staffers were planning to kill the now deposed Numayri by poisoning him, he said. Nuri has told the investigation that Bint Wahab at that time raised a memo to the state security saying some of Sudanair staffers were going to poison Numayri, he explained. Nuri said Bint Wahab had insisted on the accusation despite the objection of some security officers to the matter, he said. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English 1020 GMT 14 Feb 86] /9604

PARTIES REQUESTED TO HAND OVER ARMS--Khartoum, 14 Feb (SUNA)--Major General Fadlallah Burmah Nasir, Transitional Military Council member, has urged the political parties to hand over their arms to the official authorities. He warned against using these arms in the election campaign. In a statement to the press today, his excellency said that democracy cannot be exercised while some parties possess arms. He noted that all parties were armed against the old regime and said that the Armed Forces will not overlook any party in regaining these arms. He asserted that the Armed Forces are taking a neutral and national stand and that they will not side with any party. [Excerpt] [Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1715 GMT 14 Feb 86] /9604

MISUSE OF FUNDS PROBED--Khartoum, 17 Feb (SUNA)--The committee investigating with Abu al-Qasim Muhammad Ibrahim (one of the close aides to deposed Numayri) disclosed that Ibrahim was involved in dealing with a shadowy company which claimed that it has lended a sum of 22 million to the commission of Khartoum while he was in office as the commissioner for Khartoum province. The investigation committee said that Thomson, the manager of Triad Company which is owned by the Saudi billionaire 'Adnan Khashuqji, worked as mediator between the defendant and the manager of the shadowy company Mak Troubi. The agreement between the defendant and the shadowy company was accomplished in a manner contrary to the normal financial procedure in such cases, the committee chairman said. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English 1020 GMT 17 Feb 86] /9604

PARTY LEADER ON ELECTION--Khartoum, 16 Feb (SUNA)--Rev Philip 'Abbas Ghabbush, leader of the Sudanese National Party, has warned that any partial election will endanger the country's future. During a seminar held by his party here yesterday, he said: Despite this our party will run in the election. He also accused some parties in the Armed Forces of concocting plots against him and of planning to carry out a military coup to end democracy, stressing that such a plan will not succeed. [Excerpt] [Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1443 GMT 16 Feb 86] /9604

RESISTANCE FRONT FIGURE JOINS UNIONISTS--Khartoum, 15 Feb (SUNA)--Sudanese politician Ahmad Sa'd 'Umar, general coordinator of the Popular Resistance Front, has announced that he has joined the Democratic Unionist Party headed by Muhammad 'Uthman al-Mirghani. Ahmad Sa'd 'Umar led an armed group which operated against the old regime from Ethiopian territory. He returned to the country after the popular uprising and handed over his group's arms to Sudanese forces. In a statement issued yesterday on this occasion, Ahmad Sa'd said that his decision to join the Democratic Unionist Party embodies his option to side with the homeland in accordance with its charters and policies. He added that the decision also represents an advanced formula for the Sudanese national movement. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1020 GMT 15 Feb 86] /9604

32 GOVERNMENT TROOPS KILLED--Thirty-two government militia were killed together with their captain, Jafar Hamdallah, and many others were wounded in clashes with the SPLA [Sudanese People's Liberation Army] forces of Tiger and Oil Battalion under the command of Major Paul Dor Lampuol in Upper Nile. According to a Radio SPLA correspondent in the area the government militia were commanded by a major called Umar Ahmad. They were engaged in looting peoples property, raiding cattle, as well as burning down the citizens settlements. According to our correspondent the fight in which 32 government militia were killed started at 8 am and lasted until 7:30 pm. Six rifles were captured. One government militia soldier was taken prisoner. His name is Isa Hamid of Hamadi tribe, who according to our correspondent was seriously wounded. The wounded soldier later confessed that they were sent by Siwar al-Dhahab. He further revealed that the whole force was composed of retired soldiers who were reinstated by Siwar al-Dhahab's government as militia to fight the SPLA. 'Uthman Isa Hamid also revealed that they were all from Muglad area majority of whom are from Mesiriya Tribe. [Excerpts] [(Clandestine) Radio of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army in Arabic 1300 GMT 13 Feb 86] /9604

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH LIBYA--Khartoum, 3 Mar (SUNA)--Sudan and the Libyan Jamahiriyyah have signed a trade exchange agreement under which Libya will supply Sudan with some of its oil needs. This came in a statement by 'Abd al-'Aziz 'Uthman Musa, minister of energy, industry, and mining, following his return from a tour of Libya and Morocco. He added that the tour falls within the framework of the implementation of recent economic decisions to depend on national resources and benefit from [words indistinct]. He also said that similar agreements will be reached with other oil countries to meet the oil shortage, pointing out that technical agreements were concluded with Libya under which Libya will extend technical assistance in oil exploration operations in Sudan. [Excerpt] [Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1440 GMT 3 Mar 86] /9604

GDR EMBASSY REOPENED--Khartoum, 20 Feb (SUNA)--The official seat of Sudan's diplomatic mission was officially inaugurated in the GDR on 12 February by raising Sudan's flag and informing all diplomatic missions. The decision reopening the embassy, which was closed in accordance with a decision reducing the number of Sudanese embassies during the previous regime, was welcomed by the Sudanese community there, the GDR authorities, and the diplomatic corps, particularly the Arab diplomatic corps. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1018 GMT 20 Feb 86] /9604

TRADE UNIONS WITHDRAW CONFIDENCE IN TMC--Khartoum, 28 Feb (SUNA)--The General Council of the Trade Unions Alliance has decided to withdraw confidence in the Transitional Military Council [TMC] and to cease contact with it until it leaves in April. AL-MAYDAN newspaper, organ of the Sudanese Communist Party, says in today's issue that the Alliance decided to maintain contact with the Council of Ministers, yet with no hope it will make any achievements in the interest of the masses during the time left in the transitional period. The Alliance said that it is totally convinced that the TMC, through its practices, has adopted a stand harmonious with the conspiratorial schemes of foreign imperialist forces led by the United States and the schemes of interior forces led by the symbols of the defunct regime. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1730 GMT 28 Feb 86] /9604

KUWAITI ASSISTANCE PLEDGED--Khartoum, 23 Feb (KUNA)--Kuwait affirmed a pledge to assist Sudan despite development of the Iraqi-Iranian war and the situation in the Gulf, deputy chairman of the Ruling Transitional Military Council General Taj al-Din 'Abdallah Fadl said Sunday. In a report to the TMC, General Fadl, who is just back from a visit to Kuwait, said he conveyed to H.H. the amir, Shaykh Jabir al-Sabah that Sudan will extend every possible help to Kuwait in case of any aggression. General Fadl, who is also deputy chief of staff said Sudan will continue its mediation efforts for ending the ongoing Gulf conflict. In the report, General Taj al-Din said Kuwait is currently exerting fresh efforts to persuade the different Arab funds to continue aiding Sudan after the suspension of IMF credit facilities. He said Kuwait will also provide Sudan with adequate oil supplies to ensure success of the forthcoming agricultural season. On the other hand, the renounced Kuwaiti scholar and poet Dr Suad al-Sabh will Monday recite some of her selected poems at Khartoum University. Dr al-Sabah is visiting Khartoum in response to an invitation by the Sudanese human rights organization. [Text] [Kuwait KUNA in English 0823 GMT 23 Feb 86] /9604

ECONOMIC COOPERATION PROTOCOL WITH ROMANIA--Khartoum, 2 Mar (SUNA)--A protocol for economic and technical cooperation was signed today between Sudan and the Socialist Republic of Romania. It was signed for the Sudanese side by Samuel Aru, deputy prime minister and minister of irrigation and waterpower, and for the Romanian side by Deputy Prime Minister Ioan Totu. The protocol will cover several important projects to be implemented by Romania within the framework of development priorities in Sudan. These projects will be confined to the various national economy fields. The protocol was signed at the end of the joint Sudanese-Romanian

ministerial committee's 10th session, which was held in Khartoum from 26 February to 1 March. A cultural cooperation agreement and another agreement on regulating payments between the two countries were also signed by the two sides. [Excerpts] [Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1423 GMT 2 Mar 86] /9604

ROUTES TO SOUTH SAID SECURE--Khartoum, 28 Feb (SUNA)--River and road routes from the north to the south are safe and secure down to Malakal and supply commodities to the southern region have recently been transported across them, a high level military source in the general command told SUNA. The source is reacting to the reports about the blocking of the road leading the south by the southern Sudanese rebel forces of Sudan People's Liberation Army led by Col John Garang. No food shortage in the south and the supplies arrived in Malakal, the source said. Malakal is the capital of the Upper Nile Region, the scene of the activities of Col Garang forces. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English 0955 GMT 28 Feb 86] /9604

POLICE OFFICER QUESTIONED--Khartoum, 28 Feb (SUNA)--A female police captain is being secretly questioned about meeting ousted President Numayri in Cairo and bringing into the country recorded cassettes and other documents. This was disclosed by AL-MAYDAN newspaper, organ of the Sudanese Communist Party, in today's issue. The newspaper, however, does not mention when the meeting took place. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1727 GMT 28 Feb 86] /9604

SPLA AGGRESSION IN KORDOFAN CONDEMNED--Khartoum, 3 Mar (SUNA)--The National Alliance for the Salvation of the Homeland has condemned the recent treacherous aggression against citizens in the township of Al-Halluf in southern Kordofan by the Sudanese People's Liberation Army [SPLA] led by Colonel John Garang. This came in a statement issued by the Alliance today. The statement stresses support for the People's Armed Forces in defending the lives and properties of the citizens in compliance with a democratic peaceful solution to all issues as well as efforts to achieve democracy without harming the basic rights of citizens. The Alliance also stressed the need for the SPLA and the government to cease fire in order to begin dialogue on a peaceful solution to the country's problem through a constitutional conference. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1742 GMT 3 Mar 86] /9604

NORWEGIAN AID VEHICLE DESTROYED--Khartoum, 3 Mar (SUNA)--The People's Armed Forces have destroyed a vehicle belonging to the Norwegian church aid program in a forest near the equatorial city of (Kiubta). The vehicle was carrying food supplies to outlaws. SUNA has learned that the military governor of the Equatoria Region summoned the program representative and conveyed to him a strongly worded protest. The East Equatoria governor also ordered the distribution of the food supplies belonging to the Norwegian aid program in the (Kiubta) and Turbat warehouses to famine-stricken citizens in the area. A responsible source at the relief and

reconstruction commission announced that the program began its work in Sudan before the 60's, that its activities are confined to missionary affairs, and that there is no coordination between it and the commission.
[Text] [Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1448 GMT 3 Mar 86] /9604

'WAVE OF DEFECTIONS' FROM GOVERNMENT--Radio SPLA [Sudanese People's Liberation Army] correspondent in Rumbek says that the recent string of raids and shellings of Rumbek town by units of Tiger Battalion has sparked off a wave of defections from the government armed forces and its other regular units. The correspondent says that a group of eight prison wardens defected to the SPLA with their rifles on 25 February 1986. [Excerpt] [(Clandestine) Radio of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army in English 1300 GMT 3 Mar 86] /9604

CSO: 4500/85

ISRAEL

CANADIANS OPPOSE WARTIME AID

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 26 Jan 86 p 1

[Article by Yoram Hamizrahi: "Canada Survey: 90 Percent Against Wartime Aid to Israel"]

[Text] Only 10 percent of Canada's citizenry are interested in having their government aid Israel in the event of a new Middle East confrontation, according to a survey ordered by the Canadian Foreign Ministry. The survey was gotten hold of in its entirety by the big Canadian daily the TORONTO STAR under the official documents freedom of information act.

Eighty-three percent of those asked said that Canada should maintain its neutrality in the Israel-Arab controversy, 10 percent supported Canadian aid to Israel and 5 percent recommended that their government "in the event of conflict should support moderate Arab states." Shira Besin-Herzog, who handles most of the Israel information campaign to encourage understanding among the public at large for Israel's problems and difficulties, said that she is not surprised because the results of the survey ordered by the Canadian Foreign Ministry are identical to those of a survey conducted by the Friendship League more than 2 years ago.

The survey by the Canada-Israel Friendship League showed, for example, that 70 percent of Canada's citizens prefer that their government "maintain strict neutrality in everything concerning the Middle East conflict." Despite the fact that Jewish leaders and friends of Israel are trying not to show concern, many analysts believe that the Canadian government, which is very responsive to shifts in public opinion, is likely, in various ways, to cool what have been defined since the rise of the State of Israel as "warm and friendly relations." Those same analysts believe that the erosion in support--from Israel's point of view--is mostly due to the War in Lebanon and the negative publicity that Israel got as a result of that war.

9794
CSO: 4423/83

TRADE WITH LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES DESCRIBED

Jerusalem THE ISRAEL ECONOMIST in English No 42, Feb 86 pp 16-17

[Article by Judith R. Maltz]

[Text]

Economic development in Israel and Latin America has taken parallel routes: rapid industrialization and growth stunted by balance-of-payments difficulties, heavy foreign debts, and skyrocketing inflation. Only now are the first signs of recovery visible.

Since the beginning of the 1980s, when foreign-currency reserves began reaching dangerously low levels in both Israel and Latin America, the respective governments have been determined to curb imports. Trade between the two has suffered as a result. Excluding military goods, the volume of Israeli exports to Latin America fell from \$183 million in 1981 to \$85.4 million in 1983. In 1984, however, trends reversed, with exports rising to \$94.4 million. In the opposite direction, imports from Latin America — excluding oil imports, which average \$500 million a year — dropped to \$139.2 million in 1984 from \$161.2 million in 1981. The first three-quarters of 1985 showed more encouraging results for Israel: a 46% increase in Israeli exports to Latin America coupled with a 12% decrease in imports from the region. According to Yehuda Atsmony, director of the Latin American Division at the Ministry of Industry and Trade, this turnaround in trade developments reflects the business cycle in Latin America.

Latin America's share of total Israeli exports sank from 3.4% in 1981 to 1.6% in 1984, while its contribution to total Israeli imports dropped from 2% in 1981 to 1.6% in 1984. In the final analysis, despite the minor improvements, Israel is plagued by an enormous and not easily bridged trade gap with Latin America.

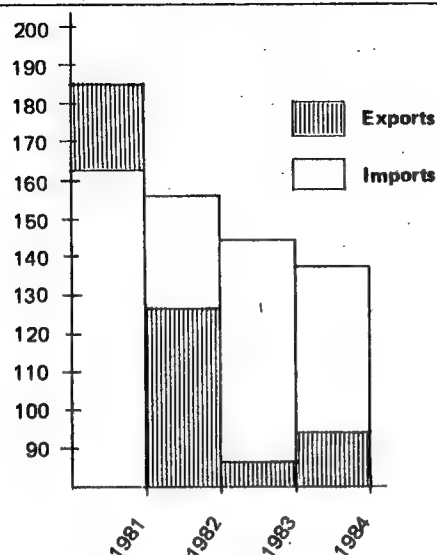
Penetrating the Latin American market has proven difficult for Israel. Latin America's market for agricultural produce — one of Israel's biggest exports — is already saturated by local producers, and other low-tech consumer goods can be purchased more cheaply from developing countries. Furthermore, Latin American countries prefer to trade with their traditional partners in North America and Europe.

Still, Israel is no stranger to Latin America. Israeli technical experts have been involved in agricultural development projects on the continent for decades. Many major Israeli firms also have bases in Latin America. And Israeli high-tech goods and other sophisticated products have made a big splash across the ocean in recent years, especially metals, machinery, electronic products and chemicals. Says one senior official at the Foreign Ministry: "There is so much interaction with Latin America: we have more embassies there than on any other continent; many missions have been sent from both sides; and numerous joint projects have been initiated. Yet, paradoxically, our commercial relations are limited."

Unlike Israel, Latin America is blessed with raw materials and abundant natural energy resources. Therefore, the region can restrict imports more confidently. Indeed, in recent years, Latin America has proven inaccessible to exporters, especially relative newcomers like Israel. Thus, with its trade deficit deteriorating, Israel has been forced to rethink its trade policy with Latin America.

Since many of Israel's staples (like meat, fish and petroleum) come from

**ISRAELI TRADE WITH
LATIN AMERICA**
(excluding oil imports and military exports)
(\$ millions)



Source: Central Bureau of Statistics.

Latin America, banning imports — even partially — is unfeasible. Instead, to monitor imports and increase exports, Israel sought countertrade agreements with those Latin American countries from which it imports much more than it exports. Commercial arrangements of this sort save hard currency and give Israeli exports a much-needed push.

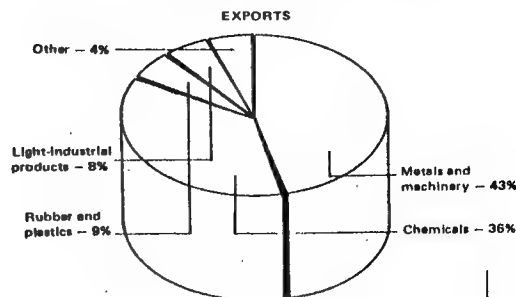
Following is a survey of recent trade developments with Israel's major Latin American trading partners in the wake of this policy.

URUGUAY

In 1984, Israel imported some \$20 million worth of goods — mostly meat and fish — from Uruguay, but its exports to that country barely totalled \$1 million. "We view this as an intolerable gap," says Atsmony.

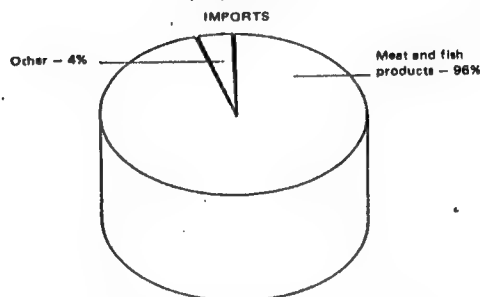
Last November, Minister of Industry and Trade Ariel Sharon accompanied a mission to Uruguay in order to reach an agreement designed to help narrow Israel's trade gap with that country. As a result Uruguay committed itself to balancing its trade with Israel within five years by stepping up government and private-sector purchases of Israeli goods.

**Israel-Uruguay Trade
(January-September 1985)**



Source: Ministry of Industry and Trade.

**Israel-Uruguay Trade
(January-September 1985)**



In the first nine months of 1985, Israel's meat and fish imports from Uruguay were already down 50%. Imports of fruit, nuts, seeds and tobacco were totally discontinued, saving over \$2 million.

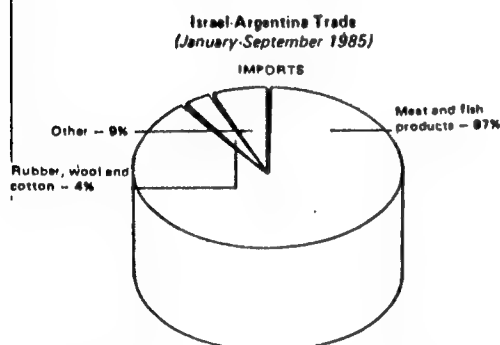
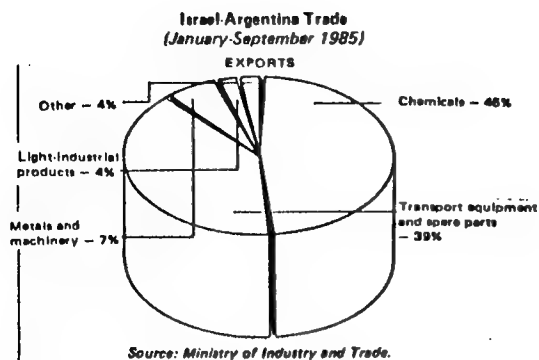
Israel mainly exports chemicals and electronics to Uruguay. During the first three-quarters of 1985, however, metals and machinery accounted for over 40% of total sales.

ARGENTINA

The same Israeli mission that visited Uruguay also stopped off in Argentina to negotiate a similar arrangement. Even better terms were reached there: Argentina agreed to balance its trade with Israel by the end of the year, and that an administrative body would be formed to monitor trade developments between the two countries.

Substantial Israeli exports to Argentina help narrow the trade gap between the two countries, even though Israel imports a larger absolute volume of goods from Argentina than from Uruguay. Between January and September 1985, Israeli imports from Argentina were down 18.6% and exports rose 22%.

Like Uruguay, Argentina mainly exports meat and fish products to Israel. These products accounted for almost half of its \$34 million in exports to Israel in 1984 and close to 90% of the total in 1985. Fruit, nut, seed and tobacco exports, which were prominent

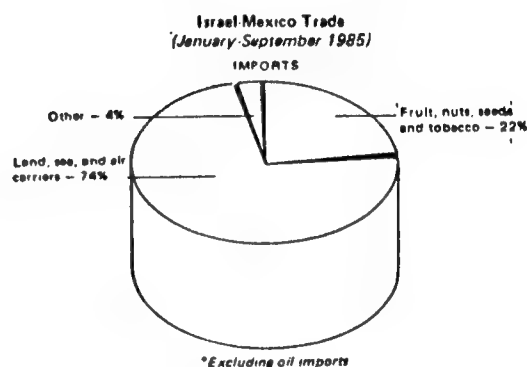
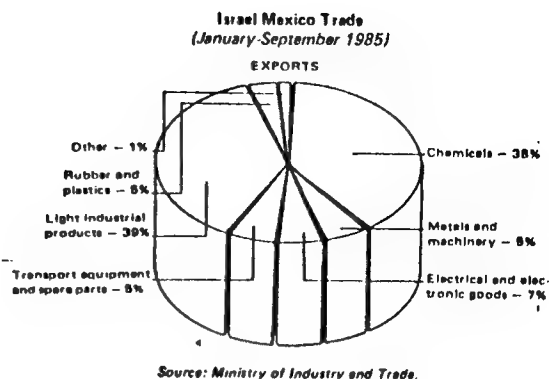


in 1984, were virtually out of the picture in 1985, as were land, sea, and air carriers and precious stones.

Israeli chemicals constituted about half of Israel's \$11-million exports to Argentina in 1984. Transport equipment and spare parts, which accounted for over one-quarter of 1984's total export volume, grew by over \$2 million in the first nine months of 1985. Metals and machinery also made headway in Argentina in 1985, with sales jumping from \$55,000 to close to \$1 million in the first three-quarters of the year.

MEXICO

With oil imports averaging half a billion dollars a year, Israel is a long way from bridging its payments gap with Mexico. Israel's Minister of Energy also visited Mexico in 1984, at which time that country promised to import more from Israel, albeit not in direct proportion to Israeli oil imports. While Israeli exports to Mexico fell short of the agreed-on target, they did increase by almost 30% to over \$5 million in the first nine months of 1985. The bulk of these exports were chemicals and light industrial products. Metals and machinery,

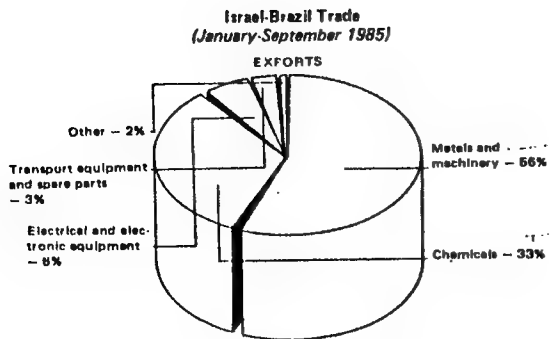


electrical and electronic goods, and transport equipment and spare parts also performed well. More important in Atsmony's view, however, this agreement has heightened Israeli exporters' awareness of Mexico, which should improve export figures in the coming years. As for Israeli imports, a sharp drop was evident in the purchases of most Mexican goods in the first three-quarters of 1985.

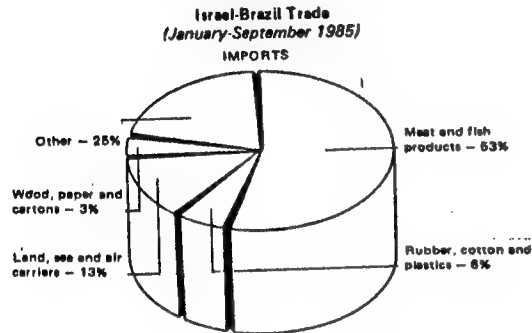
BRAZIL

Unlike other Latin American countries, Brazil supplies Israel with a host of goods — not just one or two staples. Since purchasing is, therefore, not concentrated in one or two centralized bodies, Israel has less economic leverage in the Brazilian market. Israel's attempts to reach a bilateral, comprehensive clearing agreement with Brazil have failed, although arrangements between individual Israeli and Brazilian firms do exist.

In response to Brazil's severe import restrictions, the Israeli government has adopted a policy which makes the import of Brazilian goods conditional on the sale of Israeli counterexports (of equal value) to Brazil. This way, says Gil Kennan



Source: Central Bureau of Statistics.



of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, the government hopes to convince Brazil to be more lenient in granting import licenses, and to make Israeli exporters more aware of the Brazilian market.

As a result of this policy, Brazilian imports shrunk by 24% in volume in 1985. Aside from meat and fish, Israel purchases coffee, cotton, automobiles,

industrial equipment, and household utensils from Brazil. Conversely, Brazil is the only country in this survey in which Israeli exports have taken a turn for the worse, dropping from \$17.5 million in 1984 to \$14.2 million between January and September 1985. Mining and quarrying, which contributed over 60% of Israeli exports to Brazil in 1984, dropped to zero in 1985. Chemicals continued to hold their own, making up one-third of total exports. Sales of metals and machinery approached \$8 million in 1985, constituting over half of total exports. Electronic goods also sold well last year.

The future

What are Israel's trade objectives in Latin America? According to Atsmony, Israel will continue linking imports to exports in order to promote a balance of trade; it will seek other agreements like those reached with Uruguay and Argentina; it will try to negotiate a more substantial arrangement with Colombia; and it will work toward fully exploiting its agreement with Mexico. Israel also intends to develop new commercial channels in Latin America. For example, Ecuador and Chile, currently enjoying economic recoveries, are promising markets.

A senior official at the Foreign Ministry estimates that within the next five years Israel will be able to balance its trade with every Latin American country but Mexico. He believes that there is nothing to prevent Israeli exports to Latin America from doubling and even reaching \$250 million. ■

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CSO: 4400/117

ISRAELI DEFENSE TECHNOLOGY COMPANIES REVIEWED

Jerusalem THE ISRAEL ECONOMIST in English No 42, Feb 86 pp 18-22

[Article by Joel Bainerman]

[Text]

Just 20 years after it began exporting submachine guns, the Israeli armament industry has become a potent force in world markets. Last year it exported \$1.2 billion worth of hardware. By comparison, Britain's defense exports totalled \$3.3 billion in 1984.

Israel decided to become more self-sufficient after the Six-Day War, in June 1967, when arms embargos prevented the delivery of vital military equipment. Previously, France and a handful of other Western nations had been the Israel Defense Forces' (IDF) chief suppliers.

As a result of the pressure to develop new defense systems, the defense industry's R&D process is extremely short. Generally, a new concept or technology is used on the battlefield just two years after its conception. After four years of use by the IDF, it can be declassified for export. This swift product revision is due to exceptionally close cooperation between the armed forces and the defense industries.

RAFAEL

Since its founding in 1948 as a special scientific unit of the IDF, Rafael, the Armament Development Authority of the Ministry of Defense, has grown into a major R&D and production facility. Rafael's most recent development is a thermal night-vision instrument. By measuring small differences in heat, it reconstructs a TV-like image of the target without external illumination. It can detect objects as small as a jeep, even amid smoke, fog, dust and camouflage screens.

EL-OP

El-Op Industries specializes in computerized tank fire-control systems, passive night vision, infrared warning systems, laser range-finding and laser communications. The company sold over \$75 million worth of military goods in 1984.

Last May, El-Op introduced the Spirtas. This thermal-imaging instrument, a passive target-acquisition system, is hard to detect and hard to hit because it emits no radiation. It is suited for both sea craft and planes. On a submarine, Spirtas, itself eluding detection, can sense a ship above it.

ISRAEL AIRCRAFT INDUSTRIES

As a result of its growth and its leadership in the international aerospace community, Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI) achieved a \$900-million turnover in fiscal 1984-85. In fiscal 1985-86 total turnover is expected to reach \$945 million, a 5% increase over the preceding year.

THE LAVI

The Lavi is IAI's next-generation multiple-combat aircraft. Composite materials account for 22% of the aircraft's structural weight. The use of composites for the wing allows for both low cruise drag (by optimizing wing surface shape) and high speed (through aeroclastic tailoring).

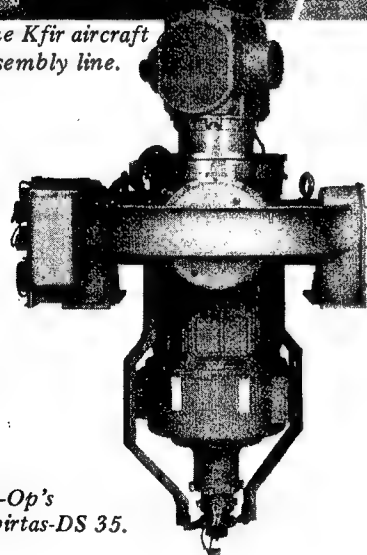
Elbit Computers is developing the most vital interface between the pilot and the Lavi's avionics: the displays.



Rafael's thermal imaging system.



The Kfir aircraft assembly line.



El-Op's Spirtas-DS 35.

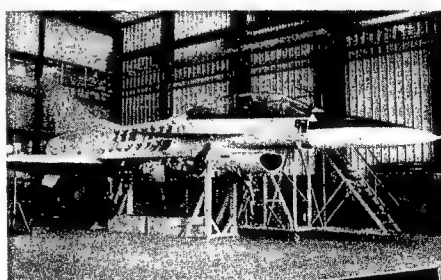
As part of the Lavi's cockpit, Elbit's fighter display system will comprise three head-down CRT displays and one head-up display. Easily readable in bright or dim light, the displays will greatly reduce the pilot's workload by projecting the exact data required at any given moment.

Elbit is also designing and producing the Stores Management System (SMS) for the Lavi. Capable of handling both conventional and smart weapons, the SMS will eliminate "thumbs" errors by means of its computer-controlled weapon release. Up-to-the-second information about weapon inventory and availability can be displayed at any moment.

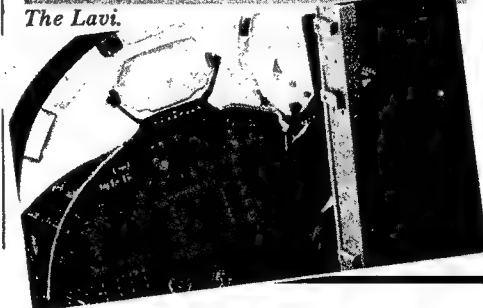
The Lavi's multi-mode radar unit is adaptable to a wide range of combat and surveillance missions. A sensor of the weapon system, it provides such airborne and ground-target data as position, velocity and acceleration. Its transmitter and multi-channel receiver permit accurate resolution for mapping. A programmable signal-processing unit allows for optimal allocation of computer power for the radar's many modes.

The aircraft will be equipped with an internal, advanced, self-protection electronic-warfare (EW) system. Integrating the plane's numerous computer-control systems, it can identify threat emitters and automatic response by using jamming and deception techniques.

The production of 300 planes is planned for the Lavi's first expected flight in 1986. Flight tests of six prototypes will continue for an additional four years.



The Lavi.



THE ASTRA

The Astra, IAI's newest business jet in the Westwind series, is a medium-sized, seven-seat aircraft that made its debut in the business-aviation world at the National Business Aircraft Association convention in Atlanta in October 1984. Prior to that, Astra's pilots has established a number of official speed records.

Under the auspices of the National Aeronautical Association, Astra's September 24 New York-to-Los Angeles flight and its September 29 return were logged as speed records with the Federation Aeronautique Internationale in Paris. Astra's return trip to Europe over the North Atlantic also set speed records for New York-to-Paris and Gander-to-Paris flights.

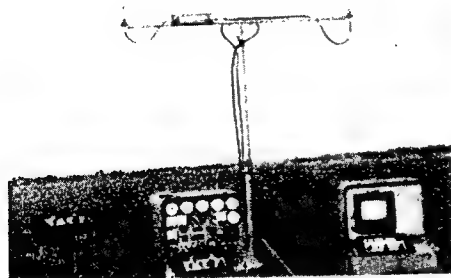
One Astra per month will be produced, and 10 orders have been received.

TADIRAN LTD.

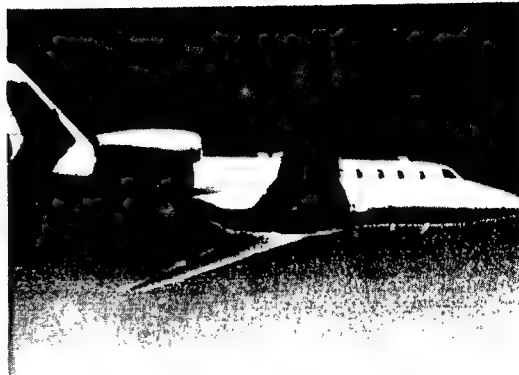
Tadiran Ltd. is Israel's largest producer of military equipment. Its 1985 sales amounted to \$400 million.

Command, Control, Communication and Intelligence (C³I) systems are vital for the effective deployment of forces in accordance with the developing battle scenario. They provide real-time pictures of the deployment and progress of both friendly and enemy forces on land, at sea and in the air. Systems incorporate computers, line, radio and radio-telephone equipment, teleprinters, tactical digital terminals, tactical graphic displays, and secure communication devices.

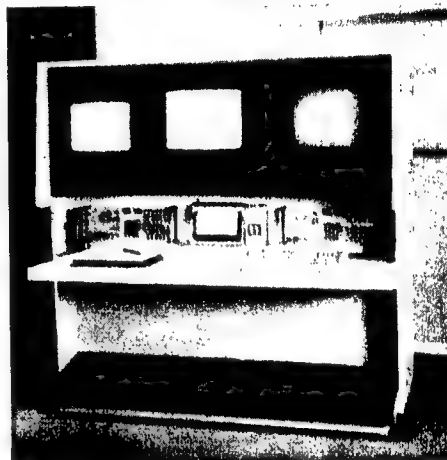
Tadiran's Divisional Artillery Command-and-Control System permits real-time acquisition processing and dissemination of data for artillery control. The system maximizes the number of targets that can be engaged by weapon array, and increases the effectiveness of immediate counter-battery fire. It comprises a data base, target acquisition, data entry and retrieval, decision support, and communication.



The Mazlat GCS.

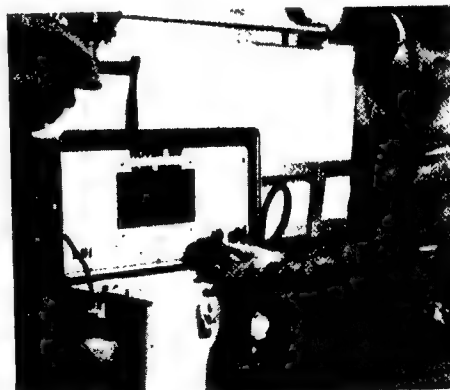


Astra — IAI's business jet.



Tadiran's COMTAC.

The COMTAC C³I Console receives and graphically presents strategic and tactical information, including electronic maps with tactical overlays that grant an overview of the general battle situation. The console incorporates remote video display from mini-RPV systems, automatic communication control, and data processing.



Rada's "Rover".

Tadiran's COMINT, ELINT and COM-JAM microprocessor-controlled systems detect electromagnetic signals, locate and monitor hostile emitters and processes, analyze data, and automatically detect communication signals. These mobile devices, operant even over rough terrain in hostile environments, search, identify, monitor and disrupt enemy communications without interfering with friendly ones.

The company's airborne radar-analysis system detects, identifies and locates hostile radar emitters. It generates an Enemy Order of Battle (EOB) map showing radar and weapon systems in a given area. And it directs on-line airborne operations against active weapon systems, and devises and programs countermeasures and avoidance operations.

MAZLAT LTD.

Mazlat Ltd. is a joint venture of Israel Aircraft Industries and Tadiran Ltd. The Rehovot-based company manufactures the mini-RPV, which provides instant intelligence for reconnaissance/surveillance missions, damage assessment, and artillery ranging.

The mini-RPV's stabilized, remotely controlled TV camera transmits real-time pictures of the area under the aircraft to receiving stations up to 100 kilometers away. There the pictures are redistributed and battlefield developments can be seen, allowing direction/detection, identification/targeting and damage assessment.

Because it can carry up to 30 kilograms in its large payload compartments, the mini-RPV can execute numerous types of missions, including day and night reconnaissance, electronic warfare, and communications relay and laser target designation.

The system's ground-control station (GCS) operates and controls the aircraft and its payload. It receives from the aircraft, computes and displays real-time data — including TV pictures of the target area — via automatic tracking antennas and a two-way data link.

When located near the battle area, the portable control station enables the mini-RPV to take-off and land independently of the GCS. The mini-RPV can either take-off from short, improvised strips or be catapulted into the air by a pneumatically operated launcher.

RADA

Rada Electronic Industries of Beit Shean is the latest Israeli high-technology company raising capital on Wall Street. The company hopes to raise \$5 million for research and development and the establishment of marketing and sales facilities in the US.

Rada develops and manufactures airborne electronic systems and computerized ground-support equipment used in the Phantom, Kfir, and Skyhawk aircraft. The firm has a \$25-million contract with Israel Aircraft Industries to develop advanced avionics equipment for the Lavi, the new Israeli combat aircraft.

Rada also manufactures intelligent test stations for combat aircraft systems. With the "no manual" tester—developed jointly with the Israel Air Force—one technician can perform pre-flight checking and maintain a jet's vital systems.

The company's general-purpose, portable military computer, the "Rover", is designed to answer all the data-processing needs of an army unit in the field: transportation, administration and logistics, personnel management, and command and control. The Rover incorporates a Motorola 68000 microprocessor, and has an internal memory of CMOS 512K and a secondary memory of up to 100 MB.

TAMAM

TAMAM was established in 1964 as a subsidiary of Israel Aircraft Industries. It employs 1,100 people, and has an annual sales turnover of \$75 million, 45% of which is from exports.

TAMAM develops and produces a broad line of navigation and reference instruments for armored forces, mobile artillery, and reconnaissance units. Its lightweight Land Navigation System (LANS) provides armored and combat vehicles — wheeled or tracked — with autonomous navigation capability. By enabling rear-echelon command stations to monitor field forces effectively, the LANS significantly enhances their value in battle.

For rapid artillery deployment on the battlefield, the Position and Azimuth Determining System (PADS) establishes a common-measurement survey network for all units. Orientation, true north and position are quickly made available to survey teams and battery commanders. When used in combination with a laser range-finder, PADS provides accurate target azimuth and location.

TAMAM's Navigation Center for Ships (NCS) is a computer-embedded system that uses navigation equipment, computational capability and additional sensors to solve navigational problems. The NCS receives, processes and transmits sensor measurements and data from other systems. Using a CRT terminal, it supplies navigational course and speed data, stabilization data, and solutions to waypoint, coastal and celestial navigation problems.

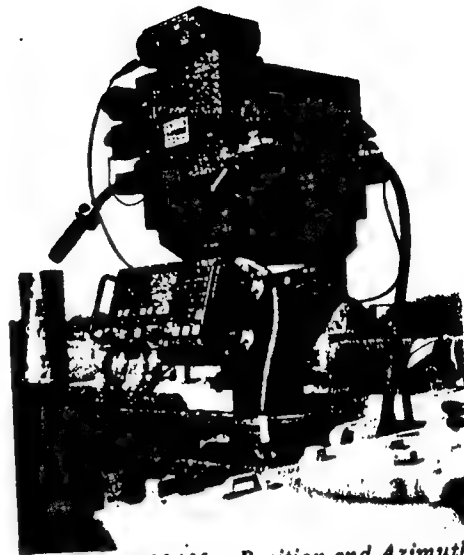
TAMAM's Stabilized Electro-Optical Systems (SLOS) are used for long-range detection, recognition and identification of ground and marine targets. When installed on fixed-wing aircraft, SLOS facilitates effective border patrol and maritime surveillance-reconnaissance. Its video capability permits real-time transmission of information on observed targets to ground command centers. When integrated in various types of data links, the system can transmit video data from the aircraft to fixed or mobile ground receiving stations several hundred kilometers away. SLOS is also useful for maritime control. Its identification and tracking ability provides for continuous surveillance of ships and oil rigs, observation, search and rescue operations, and coastal patrol missions.

ELISRA

Elisra Electronic Systems Ltd. was established in 1967 as a subsidiary of the AEL Corporation of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, after the president of AEL visited Israel and was impressed with Israeli engineers and scientists. Elisra now employs 1,400 people and sells \$70 million worth of products, 50% of which are exported.

Elisra's GPAP 1750 avionic processor recently received approval from the US Air Force Architecture Test Program. The GPAP 1750 defines the architecture of a unique software language developed by the US Air Force. Its high-speed processing is a must in today's air warfare.

For protection in the air, Elisra has developed the SPS-200, which features an advanced digital signal analyzer that executes data-processing and interfacing tasks. The analyzed threats are displayed on the azimuth indicator's screen. Audio



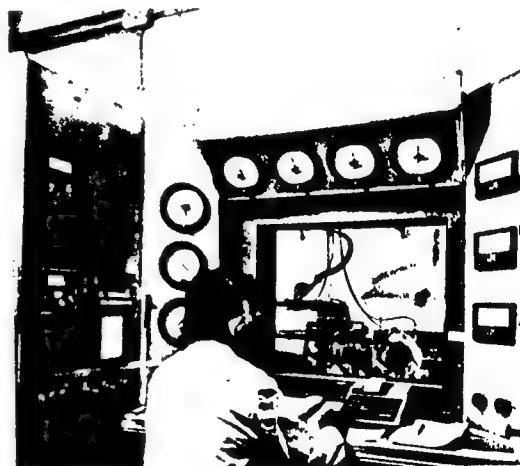
TAMAM - Position and Azimuth Determining System (PADS).

warnings are dispatched to the pilot through the aircraft intercom system. The display system, employing the azimuth indicator for threat representation, allows the pilot to establish the threat's azimuth (with respect to aircraft heading), relative lethality, and emitter type.

The unit enables the pilot to power the system, activate the automatic self-test procedure, and determine the number of threats to be displayed on the azimuth indicator. The control unit also separates the display of located threat symbols, and



Elisra CREW training system.



The TAT-Aero laboratory.

lets search and unknown threats be displayed on the azimuth indicator. A top-priority function traces a diamond-shaped indicator around the highest-priority threat symbol displayed on the azimuth indicator.

To train military aircraft crews, Elisra developed the crEWtrain system, which simulates the audio-visual responses of an airborne EW system operating within a hostile radar environment. The audio-visual scenario may be either the playback of in-flight recorded data or a simulated pre-recording.

For combat jamming/communication needs, Elisra markets COJACS. Installed on a jeep, COJACS provides two modes of communication support. The system can be operated as a high-power radio that burns through enemy jamming or overcomes communication difficulties, or it can function as a one-way relay station in the event of communication problems due to terrain or range limitations.

For naval radar applications, the company's Naval ESM system automatically receives, analyzes and identifies over-the-horizon radar signals with a high probability of interception over the entire frequency and azimuth range. Bearing information is gathered by an antenna array using monopulse switching techniques. The analyzed information is then presented on a 17-inch graphic monitor for several operator EW functions.

Elisra created the compact, shipborne, EW self-defense system for small strike craft with limited crew. Its built-in digital signal processor can analyze and identify radar signals in a very dense environment, with interception guaranteed.

Two simultaneous receiving channels are installed in the receiving-antenna unit (RAU), on the mast, which determines arrival measurements. Output signals from the antenna are divided, detected and video-amplified, and assigned to a set of digital parameters, including: direction of arrival, signal amplitude, and time of arrival. The pulse data are then relayed to the digital processor for signal sorting and threat detection.

TAT AERO EQUIPMENT INDUSTRIES LTD.

Tat Aero Equipment Industries was founded in 1970 and went public on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange in 1981. Forty-five percent of the company's \$12-million annual sales turnover comes from exports.

Tat employs 300 workers. Its customers include Boeing Commercial Airline Company, Garrett Air Research, General Electric, Hamilton Standard, and Hughes Helicopters. Tat produces fuel, oxygen, and engine equipment, cockpit instrumentation, heat exchangers, and high-resolution color graphics and computers.

Tat Aero's most recent product constitutes a completely new approach to fuel-quantity measurement in transport and executive aircraft. The system's capacitance tank probes measure the number of pounds of fuel in aircraft tanks. The device also provides the pilot with much of the data normally supplied by flight-management systems.

The panel-mounted indicator contains readable, incandescent digital displays that continuously register the fuel quantity in the various tanks. An additional display, activated by a selector switch, indicates the gross weight of the total fuel remaining. All data displayed on the digital indicator are available to a flight-management system for output at an external computer. The data can thus be displayed on a CRT in digital or analog form.

XI INFORMATION PROCESSING SYSTEMS LTD.

Xi Information Processing Systems Ltd. was established in 1968 to develop navigation and digital mapping systems.

Integrated with a digital terrain system and capable of tactical plotting, the company's LGS-P2xV family of products provides real-time navigation command and control. The system includes a navigation computer, a plotter for hard-copy display, a graphic CRT for soft-copy display, and control and display panels.

It receives tracking data from radar or other nav aids or sensing devices, processes these data, and calculates the exact location of the navigated vehicle, aircraft or ship. The location is presented in real time and plotted on a Universal Transversal Mercator or on a geographic or other coordinate system. Data can be presented on standard maps of different scales on the same mission. The system also topographically analyzes the navigation path for mission planning or real-time operation.

The portable units are transported by jeep, command car, or armored personnel carrier, and can be placed on board a ship or carried into the field by forward observers. By means of standard communication lines, the systems can communicate with one another and with other computers, transferring direct navigation and tactical data to and from different command-and-control shelters.

ASTRONAUTICS C.A. LTD.

Astronautics C.A. Ltd. was founded in 1971 to develop electronic cockpit displays. Astronautics' Display System is a programmable, high-speed, high-resolution symbol generator for military aircraft and helicopters. The system receives video signals from such airborne sensors as radar, electronic map readers and target designa-

tors, as well as data from the navigation, flight, engine, and fire-control systems. It also provides the various head-up, helmet-mounted, and multifunction airborne displays with the capability for superimposed video.

The fully electronic Moving Map Reader (MMR) registers the aircraft's present latitude and longitude and transmits this information to the cockpit CRT display via video signals of a navigational map. The MMR stores the maps on film, and a servo-controlled map-drive module moves the film below a fixed high-performance scanner. Such basic symbols as waypoints, navigational routes, present position and track are MMR-generated and -superimposed on the map image.

The Angle-of-Attack Warning System, proven successful on both Kfir and Mirage aircraft, prevents aircraft stalls and/or engine flameout during critical flight maneuvers. The system comprises an aural warning unit (AWU) analog computer, an angle-of-attack sensor, and an angle-of-attack (AOA) indicator. The AWU uses the indicated AOA and Mach number to calculate the true angle of attack. In addition, the AWU compares the true AOA with pre-programmed curves of AOA vs. Mach number, and warns when the pilot is approaching the critical angle of attack.

G.K. LTD.

G.K. Ltd. designs and installs video systems for the Israeli Air Force, Israel Aircraft Industries, and universities, banks, and electronics companies.

The company recently began marketing a "Video Mobile Cinema and Public-Address Vehicle" to several African countries. The vehicle is built on an LWB Landrover specifically designed for tropical countries' rough terrain and adverse environmental conditions. It provides

The Xi LGS-P25V.

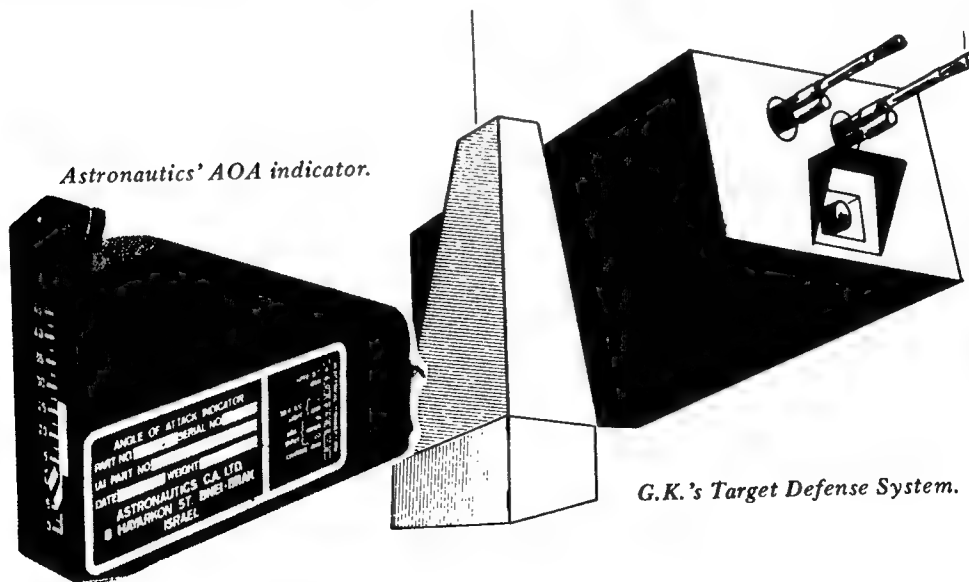


government agencies — i.e. information, military, education, health and agriculture — with a mobile video and audio replay facility for public education. The Mobile Cinema projects a sharp picture onto a 12-by-9-foot screen mounted either on top of the vehicle or on the ground.

In the defense field, G.K. has developed a series of unmanned observation posts called TBM-Recognition, TBM-Defense, and TBM-RPV.

"We've acquired much experience in this field through our work with the Israel Air Force," says G.K. marketing manager Dan Adam. "After growing dissatisfied

Astronautics' AOA indicator.



G.K.'s Target Defense System.

with the systems we were importing and using, we embarked on an R&D project to develop our own. We now offer a better system than do our competitors, and it costs 30% less than theirs."

The Target Recognition System (TBM-Recognition) is a long-range (30 kilometers), opto-electronic surveillance system that recognizes targets from ground to ground or from air to ground. TBM-Recognition positively identifies a target in real time and in hazy and turbulent atmospheric conditions by using a TV camera mounted on a stabilized platform — together with very sophisticated signal processing — to obtain the required TV picture on the operator's monitor.

TBM-Defense is a target defense system intended for installation on watch towers (for perimetric defense), remotely controlled vehicles, ship decks, and the rooves of armored vehicles. It is composed of one or two machine guns, a TV camera, a stabilized platform, and a control console and TV monitor. A reticle corresponding to the line of sight is superimposed on the TV screen.

Inside the armored vehicle, ship, or control room, the operator is provided with a sighting screen and control stick for maneuvering the TBM and initiating firing. He can also control the camera zoom and focusing device.

In the case of perimetric defense, when several TBMs are deployed, four or five operators can use the computer to monitor 100 TBMs. The computer continuously analyzes the images fed it by each camera. If it detects an intrusion into the area under surveillance, the computer sends an alarm image to the main screen. The operator can then take over the TBM that has detected the anomaly.

The small TBM-RPV fits into a remotely piloted drone that transmits images to the controller. The main advantages of the TBM-RPV are its size, which enables it to be transported in a small vehicle, and its low cost.

According to Adam, the entire system will be on display at the Air Space Show in Singapore in January, and a major marketing effort through Sibat will soon begin in the Far East and South America.

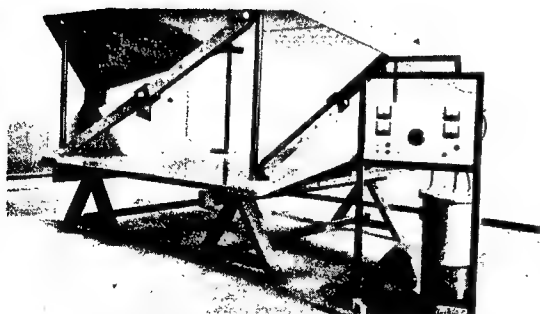
ELGAL

Elgal Electronic Industries Ltd. was established in 1982 by Rafael, Israel's leading designer and manufacturer of advanced weapons systems, to commercialize Rafael's electronics capabilities.

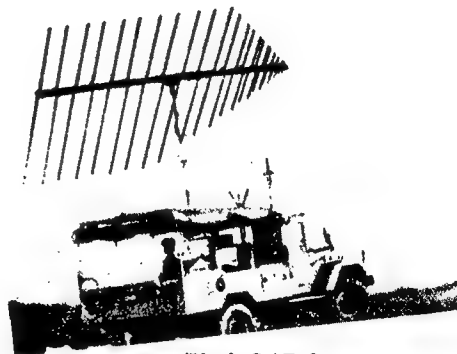
The idea of transferring military technology to the civilian sector is only two or three years old. Israel's well-established and successful civilian security industry demonstrates the country's adept marketing of military-technology concepts in the civilian sector. "The US Army is well-funded, and need not look for ways to exploit proven technologies," says Elgal general manager Moshe Gillis. "Rafael, however, must seek additional funding and thus needs to capitalize on its research."

Elgal's \$2.5 million in sales have been primarily in the electro-magnetic-pulse (EMP) field. Electromagnetic pulses of energy are caused by nuclear explosions, and can impair or destroy such unprotected equipment as data and communication links, radars and supply lines.

No one recognized the potential danger of EMP for several years. After electronic equipment malfunctioned during atmospheric nuclear tests in the early



Elgal protection against EMP.



Elta's SAR-2.

1950s, however, analysis finally revealed EMP's role in such failures.

If a nuclear device is detonated over Russia, the resulting EMP will affect Europe. Closer to home, nuclear explosions in Iran or Iraq will produce an EMP capable of destroying Israel's communication and radar signals.

How do researchers test devices designed to protect against EMP? "Instead of igniting a nuclear device," Gillis explains, "we simulate the effect of the EMP by simulating the electrical field generated by the explosion." The simulators can generate 10,000-2.5 million volts. Elgal's customers for such equipment are generally military companies in Sweden, France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Canada and the US. The US market is very large, as all B1-Bomber components must be protected against EMP.

ELTA

Elta Electronics Industries, a unit of IAI's electronics division, has developed two new defense systems:

The Defense Alert Radar system detects both maneuvering or hovering helicopters. A data-processing channel analyzes signals reflected from rotor blades. The radar scans 360° and altitudes of up to 8,000 feet can be controlled from 100 meters away. Due to fast antenna rotation, targets are detected and displayed in seconds.

The SAR-2 was developed to meet the Israel Defense Force's requirements for a system that could locate the position of enemy batteries in real time.

Acoustic sensors covering a 20-kilometer front receive and process sound waves from enemy artillery fire. Data links transfer the resulting data to the central processing systems housed in a vehicle-mounted control van. The acoustic-wave and meteorological data are then processed, and a computer prints out the coordinates of the fire site. Up to 50 different fire sources can be located simultaneously and in real time.

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ECONOMY IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OUTLINED

Jerusalem THE ISRAEL ECONOMIST in English No 42, Feb 86 pp 30-31

[Article by David Richardson and Danny Rubinstein]

[Text]

Two features have dominated economic developments in the West Bank and Gaza over the past two years: growing unemployment, particularly among white-collar workers; and increased local and international interest in the industrial development of these areas.

The economic crisis in Israel and a recession in the surrounding Arab states have, for the first time in nearly two decades of steadily increasing income and consumption, forced the Palestinians in the areas under Israeli control to depend much more on the very scarce and largely underdeveloped resources in the West Bank and Gaza.

Paradoxically, the Palestinian community in the West Bank and Gaza was first granted the status of a national economy following the Israeli takeover in June 1967. Israel developed, albeit haphazardly, a policy of separate national accounts, separate economic policies and separate administrative arrangements, while enforcing total integration into its own economy.

What today is known collectively as "the territories" constituted less than one-quarter of the land mass of Mandatory Palestine and contributed no more than 10% of its GDP. The Palestinian economy was concentrated along the coastal plain, and the four sub-districts that came under Israeli control in 1967 (Nablus, Jerusalem, Hebron and Gaza) never maintained strong economic ties to Jordan.

As a result of the 1948 war, the hilly areas along the Jordan River — now also known as the West Bank — came under Jordanian control, and the Hashemite rulers began to integrate the area into their own economy, more or less by force.

The Jordanian government's policies "perpetuated the fragmented nature of the West Bank economy and established its growth pattern: labor-intensive, with primary economic branches (agriculture and quarrying), a low level of industrialization, a migratory labor force, a substantial gap between GNP and GDP, minimal investment in infrastructure, and a low level of government expenditure," writes Dr. Meron Benvenisti in his study, *The West Bank Data Project*. The high unemployment — real and hidden — in the West Bank in 1967 reflected these policies.

Two booms

From 1967 until 1973 the Israeli economy boomed, and tens of thousands of Palestinians found employment in industry, agriculture and menial services. At the height of this boom, up to one-third of the labor force in Gaza and the West Bank worked in Israel.

The quality of life improved dramatically. In 1967, 23% of all West Bank families enjoyed some form of electrical supply. By 1983 this figure had reached 86%. Similar increases were recorded in the purchase of such household durables as refrigerators, stoves and television sets. Private car ownership increased from 1% in 1967 to 16% in 1981.

Until 1972, Jordan was depressed and unstable economically and politically. The kingdom hovered on the edge of civil war until the "Black September" of 1970, and the pressure of Jordanian unemployed trying to enter the West Bank to find work was tremendous. With the 1973 Yom Kippur War, however, Israel's economic growth began to slow down, while the oil crisis brought an unprece-

dented boom to the Gulf states, which also fueled growth in the Jordanian economy.

The civil war escalating in Lebanon from 1976 onward and the collapse of Beirut as the business and finance capital of the Middle East caused many offices and assets to be transferred to Amman. The Jordanian capital blossomed, and the conspicuous consumption of its wealthier classes was envied by many in the West Bank.

Ironically, the Palestinians' statelessness and the fact that they were scattered allowed them to weather the economic and political vicissitudes of the region. Income was generated in Tel Aviv or Beirut, Kuwait or Jordan, but there was always income. Many young people found work in Jordan and the Gulf states. Indeed, the economies of the West Bank and Gaza are relatively undeveloped and remain totally dependent on outside economies — primarily Israel and the Arab world via Jordan.

The population of the West Bank increased by some 2% during 1982 and by 2.7% during 1983, and has now reached approximately 766,000, according to last year's annual report of the Judea and Samaria Civil Administration. But these figures are estimates based on a census conducted in 1967, and they are contested by various experts. The population of Gaza is now estimated at 476,300.

Nearly 70% of the inhabitants of the West Bank are peasants unable to maintain themselves by their traditional agriculture. Similarly, over 60% of the residents of the Gaza Strip are destitute refugees who continue to live in crowded and relatively impoverished refugee camps.

The level of development and services in both areas is low; basic infrastructure and planning are lacking. For example, total electricity consumption in the West Bank is comparable to that of two or three large factories in Israel. The number of telephones in the area, some 15,000, is far less than that in towns and areas of similar population density in Israel.

The road system and central water supply remained almost totally undeveloped until the Likud government's settlement drive of 1979-83. Government settlement plans call for east-west highways to facilitate access to the heavily populated coastal region of Israel, although the Arab population requires a north-south road pattern.

Per-capita GNP in the West Bank in 1981-82 was \$1,400, according to Bank of Israel figures. The per-capita GNP for the same period in Israel was four times higher— \$5,650. And if one deducts that

portion of West Bank GNP derived from Israel, the figure for Israel would be closer to six times that for the West Bank.

All the statistics suggest a provincial, underdeveloped and dependent economy with a large migratory labor force. Industrial production in the West Bank has declined. The industrial sector's contribution to the GDP of the West Bank fell from 9% in 1968 to 6.5% in 1980. "With GNP per capita twice as high as in Egypt, the West Bank's industrial contribution to GDP is a quarter of the Egyptian industrial contribution," writes Dr. Benvenisti. Only some 50 factories in both the West Bank and Gaza employ more than 20 workers, with slightly more than 1,000 people employed in substantial industrial plants.

Caught in the middle

In the past three years, external income sources have been less able to compensate for local backwardness. Since 1982, Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza have found that the luck which allowed them to move profitably between Tel Aviv and Amman has run out. Concurrently, Israeli economic growth has all but ground to a halt and Jordan's economy has slowed down, too. Jordan's difficulties result primarily from a sharp decline in support from its oil-rich Arab neighbors.

The depressed demand for labor from the territories was worsened by the collapse of the international oil market. The Gulf war taxed the Gulf economies further, and Saudi Arabia, the wealthiest of all the states, cut its production and lost revenues. Meanwhile, Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the difficulties there as well as the Shi'a revival in Iran exacerbated economic tension throughout the region.

Arab governments began to favor their own labor forces and — because of long-established fears of the large Palestinian communities within their borders — to hire foreign contractors to bring in temporary labor from the Far East. Increasingly, Palestinians were losing their jobs and, consequently, their right of residence. Unofficial statistics indicate that the number of Palestinians returning to the West Bank from the Arab states is steadily increasing.

White-collar and semi-skilled workers have been most immediately and adversely affected. Teachers, clerks, academics and semi-skilled laborers, whose numbers have increased dramatically since 1967, were among the first to be dismissed in the Arab states, and they cannot find employment in the Israeli economy. Furthermore, the

Arab universities of the West Bank now graduate some 6,000 students a year, and most of them will not be able to find work in Israel proper, the Arab states, or the territories themselves. This group of unemployed is growing into tens of thousands.

According to the Labor and Social Welfare Ministry, labor exchanges in the territories are still reporting fewer applications for work than those in Israel, and the official unemployment rate is still around 2%. But there are other reflections of the recession in the Israeli economy. Since the beginning of 1984, 6,000 laborers have been laid off by the larger construction companies. The number of requests for labor is down by 50% compared to the same period the year before, and now stands at some 1,000.

Some 90,000 residents of the West Bank and Gaza found employment in Israel during 1984 — about a third of the available work force in the territories. Fifty percent of those employed in Israel work in construction, 20% in industry, 15% in agriculture, and the rest in various services. Two-thirds of all those employed were referred through the West Bank and Gaza labor exchanges and enjoy some of the salary and social benefits common in Israel. They do not, however, have unemployment insurance.

Delaying the collapse

Two factors have delayed the collapse of the economy in the territories. First, these 90,000 unskilled laborers working in Israel will probably continue to do so because Israelis are unwilling to replace them. Similarly, in western Europe, despite very high unemployment levels,

millions of "gastarbeiters" still find work.

Second, Palestinians are returning to agriculture. Marginal areas that were neglected because of better employment opportunities outside the territories are being revived. More land is being cultivated and more people are working family plots.

During 1984, as the dimensions of the burgeoning crisis became apparent, Israel and America aired development proposals designed to foster indigenous economic development and employment. Most significant were suggestions for the establishment of an Arab bank in Nablus, the formation of investment companies, and the building of a cement factory in Hebron and juice plants in Gaza and the West Bank.

Unfortunately, these plans will probably never be realized. In almost any project entrepreneurs and their backers will run afoul of Israeli and Jordanian political and economic interests. Any factory in the West Bank or Gaza will almost inevitably be in competition with an existing Israeli or Jordanian plant. And even if there is room in the Jordanian market, the government in Amman demands that all raw material be imported via its harbors. This usually makes factory-building hugely unprofitable.

Jordan and Israel also fear that independent economic growth in the territories will foster greater political ambition. Jordan distrusts any Palestinian accumulation of power, while Israel opposes anything that might lead to Palestinian independence in the area. In short, they prefer that the territories remain a consumer market and a source of cheap labor. Both countries are happier with the Palestinians building in Tel Aviv and Amman rather than in Nablus and Gaza. ■

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CSO: 4400/117

GOLAN MOSHAVS BANKRUPT

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 30 Jan 86 p 1

[Article by David Moshiyuv: "Three Moshavs in the Golan on the Verge of Bankruptcy: the Moshavs on the Lebanese Border To Be Abandoned for a Week"]

[Text] Three moshavs on the Golan Heights--Eli'ad, Giv'at Yo'av, and Ani'am--are on the verge of fiscal collapse, despite their agricultural achievements which leave them an increasing functional profit from year to year.

The reason is that Israel's increasing interest rates of recent years, which no one could have forecast, have caused these moshavs heavy deficits of about \$10 million, which they cannot pay off.

According to the moshav members, they cannot keep pace with the rate of debt increase because of the interest, which now is as high as 80 percent. "Had the interest rate stayed where it was when we took out the loan, we would not have any problem with the loan today", the farmers said.

The secretaries of the moshav movement, Gedalya Gal and Yohanan Dani'el, who toured the Golan Heights, are set to meet on the matter with Prime Minister Shim'on Peres after he returns from a visit to Europe, in an effort to prevent the collapse of these moshavim.

In the same connection, the director general of the organization of Galilee moshavim, Rahamim Yaquti, reported last night that the members of several moshavim along the Lebanese border, together with all their families, are about to abandon the moshavim for a week because of the large debts which they cannot pay off and which have accumulated as a result of the high interest rate. "It is just too much," Yaquti said.

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CSO: 4423/83

ISRAEL

JERUSALEM POST, HADASHOT CONTRASTED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 24 Jan 86 p 19

[Article by Ari'el ben Ami: "Cheesecake and Conscience"]

[Text] "My editor wants blood from me. What can I do? If I want to continue working at HADASHOT, I have to give him blood." (One of the HADASHOT reporters, not for attribution, of course.)

"There are people who are unhappy without a story on murder or some big embezzlement on the front page. We do not hide those things, but on the other hand we do not go out looking for them. We try not to get too close to the garbage." (Ari Rat, editor of the JERUSALEM POST.)

It is a matter of character--two different approaches in an Israeli press that is looking for signposts to keep it from going too far afield. One could guess at the differences from the blue suit and matching tie worn by Ari Rat as compared to the jeans worn by HADASHOT editor Yosi Klein, but that would be rather petty. The 50-year old JERUSALEM POST already has a solid spine. The 2-year old HADASHOT, according to its editor, is still groping, and he says that the criticism leveled against it is unfair because of its inexperience.

The question might be whether we have to forgive HADASHOT where we would not forgive the JERUSALEM POST. But the problems that occupy the editors of the two newspapers are different. Ari Rat, the editor of the POST, is troubled more by an Israeli policy that is spread--even by his own paper--throughout the world. Yosi Klein has to struggle with the "feedback" that he gets on pictures of women's bodies in HADASHOT in order to know when he has exceeded the bounds of acceptable documentation.

When Rat tries to fight the censorship, he has the solid backing of the editors' commission. Yosi Klein, who is not a member of the editors' commission--for commercial reasons, he says--claims that he lacks that backing. He argues that he is therefore more exposed to the pressures applied to his paper. As proof of that he cites the closing of HADASHOT for 3 days last year after he violated the censor's instructions. Klein is unwilling to admit that the closing down of the paper when it first came out is what built it up in the public eye.

The paper violated the censor's instructions in the matter of the terrorist bus to Ashqelon when it published a piece on it. It tried to be the "bad boy" of the press establishment and give it a slap while its big brothers were showing self-restraint by not publishing. But the establishment, in the person of the censor, reacted to that slap with a kick of its own and closed down HADASHOT.

Both HADASHOT's abandon and the JERUSALEM POST's honored reputation demonstrate a position. Ari Rat emphasizes the national responsibility that he shoulders. Yosi Klein says that he does not place the responsibility on any one person, but also evades the issue of his having created norms of aggressiveness in the Israeli press. In justifying the publication of names of suspects before they have been brought to trial, he says: "If MA'ARIV and YEDI'OT stop the practice, I will, too". But HADASHOT was the one that started the practice, in a clear violation of the law and a blatant attack against citizens who cannot protect themselves.

Of course, the JERUSALEM POST, like the other newspapers, is not totally without sin. Ari Rat says that some reporters on his paper were rebuked for the headline that they submitted in the Hava Ya'ari affair. The headline noted that she was the wife of Ehud Ya'ari. Rat says that that headline was irrelevant to the actual charges against Hava Ya'ari and that her family connection should be published in the body of the article. By the same token he defends the television reportage that ignored the Hava Ya'ari affair because of the connection to her husband, a TV man.

Yosi Klein, like Ari Rat, argues that public figures must get more exposure when they become involved in a police investigation. But in HADASHOT that gets applied even to a lowly washwoman. In the embezzlement affair at the Bank Hapo'alim in Jerusalem, one of the bank's cleaning women was arrested on suspicion of involvement in the embezzlement. HADASHOT came out with a large picture of her and her full name on the front page. Today things like that can be found in other papers, too--they all justify themselves with the claim that they cannot afford to lag behind the others.

Ari Rat forcefully rejects the notion of "Israel's dirty laundry before the world." He says that the fact that his paper appears in English obliges accurate reporting just as it does for the rest of Israel's dailies. There is no hesitation about publishing something out of fear that Israel would "look bad" in his paper. In today's world, when every edition of the news on "Kol Isra'el" is immediately translated from Hebrew to the entire world, it would be absurd to do otherwise. "I do not want to be like in the song 'Only My Little Hayim' where they are all wrong and only some Yiddish bulletin in Jerusalem reports the truth. That is precisely the difference between a newspaper and a bulletin that is the mouthpiece for some organization. I have to be accurate in my reporting."

On the war in Lebanon Ari Rat had to struggle with his conscience. He does not want anyone to criticize the government in wartime. Nevertheless, he says, when he realized in the very first days of the war that the IDF spokesman was misleading the public, he tried with all his might to publish that fact, as the other newspapers did, to at least lessen the war damage. He

relates how task force and brigade commanders attacked the military reporters, claiming that they were actually serving the IDF spokesman in publishing his false announcements, while very different and horrible things were taking place in the field.

In the first days of the war in Lebanon the government sat as a ministerial committee on defense, with all of its sessions closed at the outset on the instructions of the censor. Ari Rat says: "I remember that in the first week of the war our political correspondent came to me with the words of six ministers who warned: 'Sharon is leading us by the nose.' These ministers, who opposed Sharon's actions, were David Levi, Yitzhaq Berman, Zvulun Hammer, and Mordekhay Tzipori as well as Burg and Simha Erlich to a certain extent. They tried to take comfort in the fact that at least Sharon would refrain from going to Beirut. But at the very moment they were saying that, unbeknownst to them, Sharon was on his way to the Beirut. I was faced with a very serious dilemma. I knew that I would not receive authorization from the censor to publish that, and I decided on my own to publish it out of a sense of national responsibility. I felt that publishing in this instance was preferable to not publishing. I was prepared to be called before the censor for violating his instructions. The publication did in fact cause a lot of debate and in the end we were chastised."

When I asked Yosi Klein if he had a conscience, he seemed somewhat perplexed and finally answered that that was a philosophical question. Klein, calm and composed, the quiet intellectual type, does not match the character of his paper. He delegates the aggressiveness to others. He says that his personal conscience is irrelevant. It is his professional considerations as an editor that must stand the test.

In the afternoon of my meeting with him I got to flip through the issues of HADASHOT that dealt with the incident of the terrorist bus to Ashqelon and the murder of the female soldier Hadas Qadmi. I imagine that some small bird whispered something about that to Klein. That evening, in his room in the editorial office in Tel Aviv, even before I asked, he told me that he regretted the publication of the bus incident, in which two of the terrorist kidnappers were beaten to death, as well as the treatment of Hadas Qadmi. Even today, he says, he would publish the story of the terrorists being beaten to death again, but he would do it in a more sophisticated way. I told him that HADASHOT murdered Hadas Qadmi a second time and even brutalized her body. Klein admitted that he was not sensitive enough at the time of publication.

The draft legislation of Justice Minister Moshe Nisim, intended to "kill" the free press, alarmed the newspaper editors. Ari Rat says: "We deployed for a battle of containment, and I think we were successful." He further claims: "It is good that we shook ourselves off and that they shook us up to get some standards in the press." Recently we have 'slipped' and we need to put our own house in order." Now the struggle to prevent the law has been abandoned as well as that to establish standards that would be incumbent upon the entire Israeli press.

On this matter, too, Yosi Klein is prepared to open a direct line to the establishment. For the time being the commission of newspaper editors does

not want him. For his part, he claims that he does not need the prestige of the commission of newspaper editors but rather the information that it receives and protection from the censors in exchange for not publishing information reported to them. "I want to be on the commission of newspaper editors so as not to be deprived and I am ready to meet all its requirements and those of the newspaper council on professional ethics," he says.

Ari Rat says that Moshe Shahal's idea of issuing permits to reporters is very serious. He thinks Shahal should be given the benefit of the doubt in having been misunderstood. In any case, the press is scrutinizing itself so as not be left at the mercy of the government. Anyone looking for the authority to issue a permit of that sort is ultimately looking for the opportunity to withdraw it.

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ISRAEL

DAILY NEWSPAPERS REMAIN NUMBER ONE ADVERTISING MEDIUM

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 30 Jan 86 p 5

[Article by Moshe Geva: "The Press--Still the Number One Advertising Medium"]

[Text] In 1985 the daily press maintained its position as Israel's number one advertising medium. Nevertheless its share dropped a little, to 45 percent of all advertising revenues as compared to 46 percent in 1984.

Benny Ga'on, chairman of the Advertisers' Federation, reported that funds invested in advertising in the daily papers in 1985 totalled \$93.1 million, as compared to \$98.6 million in the preceding year--a drop of about 5 percent. The Federation's statistics also show that 1985 continued the downward trend in advertising in Israel that had begun the year before--after a continuous upward surge in the 4 preceding years.

The grand total of advertising expenditures in Israel in 1985 came to about \$206 million, as compared to \$214 million in 1984, a drop of about 4 percent, and \$267 million in 1983.

Nevertheless advertising showed signs of recovery in most of the media during the last 3 months of 1985. The most salient change was in advertising expenditures for sponsored programs and service broadcasts on general and educational television, which increased more than threefold last year, in comparison to 1984, and totalled about \$7 million. Periodicals and journals also increased their share of the advertising pie by 25 percent--which points to a move toward more vertical marketing.

However 1985 showed a drop of about 23 percent in advertising expenditures in weeklies and monthlies, as compared to 1984, and a drop of about 18 percent in advertising expenditures in local newspapers and their evening supplements.

In 1985 just under 3 million inches of advertisements were published in the daily papers, which is about 200,000 less than in 1984 and about 800,000 less than in 1983. Of every 100 inches of advertising published in 1985 in the daily papers, 28 inches were in YEDI'OT AHARONOT, 25 inches in MA'ARIV, 12 inches in HA'ARETZ, 10 inches in DAVAR, 10 inches in HADASHOT, 5 inches in the JERUSALEM POST, and 10 inches in all others.

The year 1985--more precisely the latter half of the year-- was characterized, like the economy in general, by relative stability in advertising prices. Those prices increased by about 140 percent, while the rate of inflation that year totalled 185.7 percent and the dollar gained by 134.7 percent.

Below is a breakdown of advertising expenditures in the various media over the last 2 years:

Year	1984		1985	
Advertising medium	Millions of dollars	Percent of total	Millions of dollars	Percent of total
Daily papers	98.6	46	93.1	45.1
Local papers	21.4	10.0	17.6	8.5
Journals	17.0	8.0	20.8	10.0
Foreign advertising	17.6	8.2	16.8	8.1
Weeklies and monthlies	12.9	6.0	9.9	4.3
Radio	12.6	5.8	15.3	7.9
Sales campaigns	10.6	4.9	8.1	3.9
Printing and direct mailing	9.6	4.5	7.7	3.7
Movies	2.9	1.4	3	1.4
Sponsored programs and TV service broadcasts	2.1	1.0	6.8	3.2
Production and administration costs	8.9	4.2	7.1	3.4
Total	214.2	100	206.2	100

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ATTEMPTS MADE TO MODERATE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 26 Jan 86 p 19

[Article by Nurit Dabrat: "No Employment of Teachers Who Subvert Zionism"]

[Text] "We can prevent, in educational ways, the situation prevailing in religious education in which the radical religious camp leads the moderates to an unwanted future. We can achieve a situation of moderate, balanced religiosity," says Dr Ami Ze'evi.

He proves in practice that it is possible to do otherwise. Mr Ze'evi, the general director of Amit, the system of orthodox educational institutions, has appealed to the directors of his institutions not to hire lecturers on Jewish studies from the radical camp. In his letter Dr Ze'evi writes that "we should not invite lecturers who subvert the moderate religious Zionist line in which we wish to educate our pupils and establish their religious belief." Dr Ze'evi stresses that in every case one must make sure that the moderate religious line will be acceptable to all teachers accepted at the institution. In order to show that this is not just a matter of empty words, the director general of the system announced that he would not pay the salaries of teachers belonging to those organizations and lecturers who take a radical anti-Zionist line.

We went to meet Dr Ze'evi and found an educator worried about the extremism in religious education. He does not make do with words but takes a clear stand that he imposes on all teachers of the system. "Our goal is to bring people closer, not to estrange them; to integrate, not to isolate; to be involved in day to day activity by opposing the isolation and extremism that characterize the more orthodox stream." Dr Ze'evi talks about the handful of extremists who are trying to lead orthodox education to an unwanted future, and stresses that in the government's orthodox educational system there are about 60,000 students as opposed to 7,000 in the yeshivas and ulpan.

The Amit system sets itself a moderate religious educational line, chooses teachers who will teach that line, and puts the emphasis both on education for the sciences and technology and on work and the study of Torah and scholarly pursuits. "Orthodox Judaism once had a different way and a different conception. In order to make that clear to our students, we have prepared a matriculation program called 'religious Zionism'. In it we explain that there

is nothing standing in the way of a religious education for its own sake, beyond the requirements of the Education Ministry's programs. We believe that we can act on both planes."

The Amit system does not believe in hiding behind the walls of its schools. Therefore, in cooperation with the Keren Kayemet, it fosters educational projects on religious Zionism, including hikes, lectures, puzzles, etc.

Liberalism and openness in religious education are possible on most issues--until you get to the most problematic of all: meetings between religious youngsters and Arab children in the framework of the Ministry of Education's "coexistence" program. On that question even Dr Ze'evi cannot take an unequivocal position against the stand of the religious education wing and ultra-orthodox elements who oppose the meetings. Even so, Dr Ze'evi says that he is for education on the subject, for a study of the problems, and he is even ready to have his students go through with the meetings, but "in a neutral place, not in the homes." He knows that there is a problem in everything connected with such meetings--with the parents. They are afraid of such meetings, just as they are afraid of close contact with secular Jews.

"Is moderate orthodoxy possible? Of course," Dr Ze'evi stresses. One has only to believe in openness and co-existence--even between Jews.

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ISRAEL

DAYLIGHT SAVINGS TIME ISSUE RESURFACES

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 22 Jan 86 p 1

[Article by Arye Lavi: "Shahal Suggests That Daylight Savings Time Be Extended By Another 2 Months"]

[Text] Energy Minister Moshe Shahal will suggest in the next few days to Interior Minister Yitzhaq Peretz that daylight savings time be extended this year. Nevertheless, in order to appease the orthodox, it will terminate before the holidays. Shahal will meet in the next few days with Minister Peretz in an attempt to convince him to accept the Energy Ministry's program for expanded daylight savings time. The Energy Ministry had floated the idea of moving the clock forward by 2 hours, but the minister quashed the proposal in order not to offend the orthodox, who object to even a 1 hour advance.

According to statistics of the Ministry for Energy and Infrastructure, daylight savings time is expected to bring a savings of about \$6 million this summer. The Energy Ministry's proposal is to institute daylight savings time for a period of 182 days, from 27 March to 29 September. Last year daylight savings time was in effect for just 140 days after being shortened by 2 weeks under orthodox pressure.

The dates for the institution of daylight savings time were set taking into account the needs of the orthodox community. The savings achieved in 1985 from the 140-day period of daylight savings time came to \$4.6 million. That was nearly 1 percent of total electrical consumption. Energy Ministry experts concluded that the more the public got used to exploiting the advantages of daylight savings time, the greater the direct savings in energy.

The energy minister estimated yesterday that the drop in world oil prices would result in Israel paying \$20 per barrel of oil in 1986, which would bring a savings to the national economy of up to \$250 million. Today Israel is paying an average price of \$23.66 per barrel of oil. The average price that Israel paid in 1985 was \$25.54, as compared to \$27.38 per barrel of oil in 1984. The drop in world market prices has already saved the economy over \$100 million, averaged over the entire year.

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FIRST SAUDI HEAD OF ARAMCO INTERVIEWED

Jeddah ARAB NEWS in English 22 Jan 86 p 9

[Interview with Ali Naimi, president of the Arabian American Oil Company by Dr. Walid Arab Hashem]

[Text] Q: Could you kindly introduce yourself to our readers?

A: I was born in the Eastern Province in 1936, and, for the first years of my life, roamed the region with my mother's tribe, the Ajman. In 1945 I began attending an Aramco school in Dhahran. This was my first exposure to formal education. I did that for two years, then joined Aramco as an office boy. Later I became a junior clerk in Personnel Department.

The turning point in my career came in 1953, when I was among 20 employees selected for a summer program at the American University of Beirut. There I was exposed to the sciences, and I liked what I learned. When I returned to Dhahran, I convinced Aramco that I wanted to be a geologist and to transfer me to the Exploration Department. I was assigned to an exploration rig as a geologist's assistant.

Later I was awarded a company scholarship to attend high school at the International College in Beirut. I graduated in 1957. Aramco then sponsored my university education, first at the American University of Beirut and then at Lehigh University in Pennsylvania, where I earned a BS in geology in 1962. I then attended Stanford University in California, where I earned a master's degree in geology, again with Aramco's support.

Upon my return to Aramco, I undertook a variety of developmental and acting assignments. I was a geologist and hydrologist in the Exploration Department and later became superintendent of the Abqaiq Producing Division. In 1973 I was named manager of Southern Area Producing and a year later became manager of Northern Area Producing.

In 1975 I was elected an officer of the company — vice president of Producing and Water Injection. I was designated senior vice president for oil operations in 1978 and elected to the Aramco Board of Directors in 1980. In 1982, I was elected executive vice president for operations. Since Jan. 1, 1984, I have been serving as president.

Q: Would you explain your success or work philosophy?

A: My philosophy of work, and of what it takes to be successful in one's work, is really rather simple. I think successful people are those who go about doing the things that are necessary to achieve job goals without the focus being on themselves. You can't just focus on what you want. It's what you want for others that counts. It's what you want for an organization, for a nation, for people, for the world. It's how high you want to aspire. You should also be fair and compassionate, and it helps to work hard.

The cardinal rule I have always tried to live by in managerial jobs at Aramco — and I think this rule applies to anyone who supervises others — is to make yourself dispensable. There should always be more than one person being prepared to take over. After all, how can you move upward if you make people believe you are indispensable?

Q: Could you broadly trace the growth of this company to its current position as one of the largest in the world?

A: Since its beginnings in 1933, Aramco has been a most successful company. It increased its crude oil production from less than 20,000 barrels per day in 1944 to more than 9.5 million barrels a day, or about 16 percent of world oil production, at its peak

in 1980. Since then, oil production has decreased because of the worldwide situation, but Aramco's capability as a major crude producer remains in place.

Even today, Aramco is the world's largest company in the production of crude oil and natural gas liquids. It accounts for 95 percent of the Kingdom's total oil production and manages 98 percent of its petroleum reserves.

By the end of 1984, Aramco had discovered a total of 52 commercial oil fields, including the Ghawar Field, which is the world's largest onshore field, and the Safaniya Field, which is the world's largest offshore discovery.

Aramco has been successful nearly every year in discovering more oil than it produces. At yearend 1984, the remaining recoverable reserves had reached 166.3 billion barrels, or about 25 percent of the world's total. Saudi Arabia has more plentiful reserves of petroleum than any other nation on earth.

Q: The company was first owned by foreign companies and then by the Saudi Arabian government. How did this organization affect, first, the role of the company in the training and development of the national labor force, and second, the interaction of the company with other sectors of the economy?

A: The government has always had a keen interest in the training of Saudis in Aramco as well as nationally. The company, since its inception more than a half century ago, also has been deeply committed to training Saudis. Policies and programs have been in place at Aramco for many years, during which the Saudi Government, through the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources, has been active in directing and guiding us in this endeavor.

Allow me to elaborate. Aramco's technical training efforts began informally quite early. Formal training programs for Saudis began immediately after World War II. I myself am a product of company training and career-development programs, and there are many other Saudis at Aramco like me, who today hold major positions of responsibility within the company. Indeed, about 62 percent of all supervisory jobs at Aramco right up to the presidency, are held by Saudis. Even more significant for the Kingdom, Saudis are not just the ones who are sitting behind most of the administrative desks; they are also the ones who are pushing the control buttons and operating the valves at our oil and gas plants. In fact, about 90 percent of all operator positions are held by my countrymen. This is most gratifying both to us Saudis at the company and to our expatriate colleagues, who have worked so hard to see it happen.

Regarding the company's interaction with other sectors of the economy, the company's local industrial development efforts began in the 1940s and continue today. Aramco's assistance to local commercial organizations began with help to individual Saudi entrepreneurs. At first we gave direct loans, later made feasibility studies and issued loan guarantees, as well as providing help in solving operating problems. Aramco's intent in providing such aid was to free itself of peripheral support activities and stick to its main business of producing oil. In the process, Aramco, with the government's cooperation, was a prime factor in the development of the private manufacturing and commercial sector in the Eastern Province. Now that the government and private banks meet many of these developmental needs, the role of Aramco's Local Industrial Development Department has shifted to providing more sophisticated kinds of support to local business and industry in such areas as quality control and marketing. All the while, Aramco has worked closely with the Saudi Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Of course, Aramco's relationship to the Saudi economy has evolved in other important ways. Whereas in 1975 we were able to buy only 28 percent of our requirements from Saudi vendors and manufacturers, today we do more than 80 percent of our purchasing in the Kingdom. Aramco helped found the Saudi Consolidated Electric Co. (SCECO) in the Eastern Province and has provided key managerial and technical support to this enterprise. At the request of the government, Aramco undertook the design and construction of the Master Gas System, which today provides fuel gas to Saudi industries, power plants and desalination plants on both coasts. Aramco also provides ethane feedstock to the petrochemical plants at Jubail and Yanbu.

Q: Would you explain the present structure and organization of the company? Who owns it and directs its policy, and what are its functions?

A: The Saudi Arabian government owns 100 percent of the assets of the company. Aramco manages the assets as the government directs. Aramco has a board of directors with 20 members: Six are from the government. Each of the four U.S. oil companies with historic ties to Aramco has two representatives, and Aramco itself has six representatives, including myself. The board approves Aramco's budget and other major plans and programs. Administratively, the company is organized on business lines. Each is headed by a senior vice president who has considerable control over the administration and planning of its affairs. We have found this decentralized

approach to be quite efficient.

Q: How is Aramco like any other Saudi company and how does it differ?

A: We have a strong common bond with Saudi industry in general and a close cooperative relationship with many of our industrial neighbors, who range from the small entrepreneur to the largest Saudi corporation. However, Aramco differs from the rest of the Saudi business community in some respects. For one thing, we are very large and concentrated in the Eastern Province. This allows us to benefit from economies of scale.

This uniqueness extends to our employees and the benefits, facilities and career opportunities we are able to offer them. We believe our programs are both attractive and competitive, as evidenced by our low rate of Saudi attrition.

Q: We would like to know your assessment of the labor situation in the company. Do you expect that Saudi labor will replace non-Saudi labor in the near future? Where do you expect shortcomings and where would you like to see a greater emphasis on training and education?

A: We have intensified the replacement of expatriates with Saudi employees. Over the next five years, we expect that the Saudi component of our work force will reach and possibly exceed 75 percent of the total work force.

To fulfill our corporate objectives, we will continue to emphasize our Saudi training programs and the retention of high-quality employees. In fact, in the current business climate, training and career development are even more critical to creating a productive and stable company.

Of course, all of this is easier said than done. But one of the hallmarks of Aramco in the 40 years that I have been associated with the company has been its ability to translate words into action and accomplishment.

Q: Do you see the importance of oil and of Aramco deteriorating in absolute terms as the world faces a surplus of this commodity?

A: I think Aramco's future is bright and full of challenges. I do not think that the world importance of oil and gas for energy, petrochemical feedstock and other uses will diminish in the long term, despite the present period of oversupply. I would expect that demand for oil and gas will continue for tens of years to come. Indeed, some experts predict that the current situation is a temporary downturn in an ongoing cycle. We have successfully adjusted to business changes in the past, and we will weather the present situation as well.

The Kingdom's tremendous reserves, coupled with Aramco's substantial production capacity and sophisticated technology, will

enable us to efficiently and successfully operate and manage our hydrocarbon industry and meet the challenges of the future. The Exploration and Petroleum Engineering Center (EXPEC) in Dhahran, which was inaugurated by His Majesty King Fahd in May 1983, is the Middle East's leading facility of its kind. It is just one of many reasons why we feel very confident and very well-positioned to meet the challenges of the future.

Q: Should Aramco diversify into other lines of operations? Do you have any such plans?

A: Our main business is to search for, produce, process and terminal hydrocarbons. But in the recent past, we have seen the role of Aramco expand, at the government's request, to construction agency, project manager and domestic gas utility. We at Aramco are here to render service, and whenever the government thinks that the expertise that is concentrated within the company can be used effectively, we are more than willing to oblige. There are many examples I can cite. When the government in 1975 turned to Aramco to design and implement the Master Gas System, we took on that role. When we were asked to lend assistance to SCECO, we did that. When the government asked that Aramco take over the operation of the East-West Crude Pipeline and crude-oil export terminal at Yanbu, we did that. We are currently handling the East-West Crude Line looping project. So I would say Aramco will continue to apply its expertise wherever and whenever it is called upon to do so — but I don't see Aramco's operations diversifying into economic activities that are totally unrelated to gas and oil.

Q: What are the current developments in your gas-gathering project? Could you detail its plans and progress?

A: Aramco has completed all of its gas-gathering projects necessary to recover associated gases from crude production. These raw associated gases are now processed in our gas and NGL fractionation plants for recovery of sales gas for use by Aramco and domestic industries. In addition, ethane is also being recovered and supplied to the petrochemical industries at Jubail and Yanbu, which use ethane as feedstock. Aramco also processes associated gas into liquefied petroleum gases primarily for export.

In addition to associated gas — gas produced along with crude oil — Aramco has also developed facilities to produce and process substantial quantities of non-associated gas from a reservoir known as the Khuff. This non-associated gas will supplement the associated gas supply during periods of low crude production. These facilities will be completed in 1986.

BUDGET CUTS EXPECTED

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 26 Feb 86 p 1

[Text] THE UAE has no plans to impose taxes or cut salaries of government employees to offset loss in revenue caused by falling oil prices, Finance and Industry Minister Shaikh Hamdan bin Rashid has said.

In a statement to local newspapers, he said budget estimates for this year will have to be revised to take into account the recent sharp decline in oil prices.

A 15 per cent cut in spending in 1986 was projected late last year but this did not take into account the possibility that oil prices could be down to just \$15 a barrel.

More than 90 per cent of UAE's federal revenues come from oil exports and according to a banking study released in Dubai at the beginning of this month, the country's income from oil could go down to Dh25 billion this year compared to Dh45 billion two years ago.

The minister admitted that current fluctuations in the international oil market made it difficult to draw up firm estimates for revenue or to set any percentage in the reduction of deficit this year. The statement did not give any projections for expenditure in 1986.

Rationalisation of expenditure and checks on investment in new projects that are considered unnecessary or luxurious will continue and efforts will be directed towards reducing the deficit in proportion to the decline in oil income.

Shaikh Hamdan said the budget for 1986 was expected to be presented in April and held out hopes of an eventual increase in oil prices. He blamed

high output by exporters and speculation for the collapse of the oil market.

According to Mr Nasser Al Nowais, Under-Secretary in the ministry of finance and industry, discussions on the draft budgets of federal ministries are to start early next month and conclude by month-end.

The finance ministry had asked individual ministries to submit their draft proposals by January 25. Fourteen ministries and federal institutions covered by the budget complied with the deadline and others were in the process of doing so.

It is now expected that these draft proposals may have to be pruned in the light of Shaikh Hamdan's statement. A 15 per cent cut in expenditure announced by the minister earlier would have resulted in the UAE having the smallest budget in six years in 1986.

The minister's latest assessment of projected revenues and expenditure may result in the country having an even smaller budget than what was being considered in private estimates by businessmen here for their economic projections.

UAE's budget for 1985 showed an expenditure of Dh16.633 billion, three per cent lower than the Dh17.2 billion budget for 1984. Revenue last year was shown at Dh12.977 billion, almost the same as in 1984.

The federal deficit last year was Dh3.65 billion, marginally less than the figure of Dh4.3 billion in 1984 and considerably lower than the 1983 deficit of Dh5.5 billion. The reduction in deficit was achieved through better management of resources and austerity measures.

/13104

CSO: 4400/123

NEW VISA REGULATIONS IN EFFECT

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 1 Mar 86 p 3

[Text] THE implementation of new visa regulations which became effective last month has caused problems, one of them being the Dh20 departure fee for each passenger.

The question was: who to charge and how to collect the fee. A uniform implementation would include nationals, resident expatriates and visitors of short and long duration.

The nationals feel it is unfair for the government to charge them the departure fee, while resident expatriates, particularly those with large families, and businessmen who make frequent trips abroad, felt the departure fee was burdensome and wanted it to be paid by their employers. Who should collect the fee and where would the proceeds go? The airlines, the airport authority, or the Immigration Department?

Unable to get any quick answers, the authorities simply cancelled the fee within a week of its introduction.

The second, and more complicated, problem is the Dh100-per-day fine which must be paid by those who stay in the country beyond the legal limit. The uniform application of this covered not only the visitors but also those who are legal residents of the country but whose residence permit has expired and is awaiting renewal. The category includes federal, local government and municipal staffs and the large semipublic and private sector companies, where passport matters are handled by the administration and not by the individual employee. Because of the administrative process, they are unable to renew residence permits for most employees in time.

When the new rules were introduced, the local government departments and the municipality refused to tolerate delays as an excuse and asked employees to pay for the delay in the period leading up to the renewal of the residence permits.

As the word about the situation spread, staff in local government and municipal departments besieged their personnel departments demanding prompt renewal in order not to attract the financial penalty. Hundreds of low-paid civic and agricultural staff in distant locations, began asking for leave in order to come to the main office of Abu Dhabi municipality to ensure prompt renewal of their permits. They had heard of some colleagues having to pay hundreds of dirhams for "overstaying".

The Abu Dhabi authorities then announced a grace period of 14 days after the expiry date during which the permit can be renewed without attracting a fine. But even this was found to be inadequate.

The Ministry of Justice has been asked to study the problem and give its legal opinion on how best to tackle it. Last week, it met representatives of the ministries of social affairs and labour and interior.

It is understood that the Social Affairs and Labour Ministry has asked for the fine to be imposed only on those visitors who stay beyond the 15-day period of their transit and visit visas, and to exempt the resident expatriates and the under-15-day visitors.

Until a solution is worked out, the department and companies will have to speed up their procedures and take advantage of the 14-day grace period to save their staff from penalty.

CRUDE EXPORTS TO JAPAN INCREASE

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 28 Feb 86 p 11

[Article by Ahmed Hassan]

[Text]

EXPORTS of crude oil from the UAE to Japan rose appreciably last year, contrary to initial fears that such imports would be curtailed.

Official sources at the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources in Abu Dhabi indicated that Japanese imports of crude from the UAE had risen by nearly 30 per cent last year. This had not been expected since imports from the UAE in the earlier part of last year had shown a substantial reduction. Sources said the total quantity of UAE crude imported by Japan last year is estimated at 42.2 million kilolitres. Last June, the value of UAE exports to Japan was considered to be less than half of the total for the comparable period.

The total Japanese imports from Arab countries showed a sharp decline and the UAE was the only country from which the Japanese had increased their imports. Last year's imports from Arab states were down by 7.6 per cent, amounting to nearly 140 million kilolitres. In the previous year, Japanese imports from Arab states totalled around 200 million kilolitres.

Japan's current imports from Arab states amount to some 70 per cent of its total imports. Japan is also a major importer from Indonesia and Venezuela.

Although Japanese imports from the UAE and Oman had shown a substantial increase, imports from Saudi Arabia had been reduced considerably. Saudi exports to Japan last year accounted for only 34.4 million kilolitres compared to 40.9 million kilolitres in the previous year.

Al Bunduq oil field in Abu Dhabi, operated by Japanese companies, has increased production to 25,000 barrels a day.

GULF GRAINS IMPORTS TO INCREASE

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 17 Feb 86 p 15

[Text]

GRAIN imports of the Arab Gulf Cooperation Council countries are expected to grow at a rapid rate in the next few years. It is estimated that by the end of this century the AGCC states would be buying 7.4 million tonnes of grain, against the current imports of 4 million tonnes.

According to a study carried out by a committee of experts the consumption of grain in the region will rise to 168 kilograms per head per year from the present 156 kilograms.

It is estimated that wheat would be the main grain consumed by the people in the region, replacing rice. The consumption of wheat per person is expected to go up sharply reaching 123kg per person per year from a mere 13kg a few years ago when rice was the staple grain. With a marked change in food habits in the region, rice now occupies the second place, and its consumption in the AGCC states is expected to rise from 500,000 tonnes in 1980, to 1.4 million tonnes by 2000.

The committee of experts has recommended the formulation of a long-term strategy for food imports by the AGCC states, keeping in view the goal of food security.

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CSO: 4400/123

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT UP

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 28 Feb 86 p 11

[Text]

THE UAE's industrial output between 1975 and 1984 increased 27-fold with a consistent growth of 31.6 per cent in output each year. The figure is considered to be high by international standards considering that the contribution of the industrial sector in the Gross National Product grew from one per cent in 1975 to 9.7 per cent in 1984.

In 1975, the country exported Dh9 million worth of industrial products while in 1984, the exports were worth Dh10.6 billion. This is disclosed in the magazine, "Industrial Affairs", the publication of the Ministry of Finance and Industry. The statement is attributed to the Minister of Planning, Shaikh Humaid bin Ahmed Al Mualla.

The minister points out that investments in the industrial sector from 1975 to 1984 account for Dh72 billion. This is 33 per cent of the total investments made during the period. It is to be noted, says the minister, that industrial investments do not mean that other essential sectors of the economy did not receive their due share.

The minister clarified that some

of the sectors could not absorb investments in full due to current economic trends. The industrial sector, however, has been given great importance in accordance with some gigantic projects being implemented in the country which has oil as its sole revenue-earner.

The stress on developing the industrial sector itself is clear evidence of the fact that the government lays great stress on the planned development of industry at all levels. The main objective is to develop the industrial sector with the best means available in modern technology. The Minister of Planning reiterated the importance of industrial planning and the feasibility studies of the AGCC market and the potential demand in the international market for industrial goods.

Shaikh Humaid also called upon the government to provide all possible assistance to the industrial sector by giving it feasible options. He also suggests detailed studies of projects and the collection of useful data. The minister emphasised the need to allocate proper and feasible geographical locations for the establishment of industrial units.

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CSO: 4400/123

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

BRIEFS

CONSTRUCTION WORK CONTINUES--Kuwait's Omran International resumed work at its Mansoura site in Aden on 15 February. Neither management nor workers left Aden during the recent troubles, Omran's managing director Salman Abu-Sitta says. The company, which has been working locally since 1982, has a roads and services contract at Mansoura, where it recently completed a \$29.3 million order to build 600 flats. It is also doing maintenance work on the flats and a 200-bed hospital in Abyan governorate. Both schemes were financed by the Kuwaiti Foreign Affair Ministry's General Board for the South and Arabian Gulf which is understood to be keen to continue providing project aid to South Yemen. [Text] [London MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC DIGEST in English 22-28 Feb 86 p 31] /9317

RECONSTRUCTION AID--Foreign governments have been slow to respond to Aden's appeals for aid because of uncertainties about stability, relief workers in the capital say. The Soviet Union and the UK were among the first to respond to calls for urgent assistance after the fighting. Moscow has sent a team of doctors and construction advisers; the UK has sent food and medical equipment. The new government has said that more aid is needed to help up to 2.2 million people. [Text] [London MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC DIGEST in English 22-28 Feb 86 pp 31-32] /9317

CSO: 4400/119

RURAL POWER CONTRACTS AWARDED

London MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC DIGEST in English 22-28 Feb 86 p 32

[Text]

UK wins power consultancy

The UK's *Ewbank Preece Power & Water* has a \$ 1 million-plus order to supervise rural construction work in the third power project. The client — *Yemen General Electricity Corporation (YGEC)* — is seeking consultants for similar work in the earthquake-affected Dhamar region.

Ewbank Preece's supervision contract covers four substations and about 260 kilometres of transmission lines; the construction order was awarded in 1985 to South Korea's *Hyundai Engineering & Construction Company*. Work is being funded by the International Development Association (IDA — MEED 26:10:85).

YGEC is inviting consultants to pre-qualify by 10 March for a contract to assist in bid evaluation and works supervision for contracts in Dhamar governorate.

The project calls for the provision of electricity supplies to about 45,000 consumers, as part of the earthquake rehabilitation programme. It also involves repairing existing lines — and installing new ones — to serve a further 20,000 consumers, in the power 4 project. YGEC is now issuing tender documents for the construction work, which is valued at about \$ 120 million.

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CSO: 4400/119

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

FUNDS FOR TIHAMA PROJECT--Loans totaling \$35 million have been agreed for an agricultural development project at Wadi Siham in the Tihama coastal belt. The Netherlands is to provide \$10 million, the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development \$15 million, and the International Development Association (IDA) \$10 million. The government is finding the balance of the project's \$47 million cost. Work on the project is expected to start before the end of 1986. It involves setting up a demonstration farm and training farmers in improved agriculture and irrigation techniques. More efficient irrigation will be introduced in a 7,000-hectare area and infrastructure will be upgraded, including building 52 kilometres of feeder roads. The Wadi Siham project is the second agricultural productivity scheme within a year to receive international aid funding. Loans for the \$38 million Wadi al-Jawf project came from the IDA, the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development and Japan, with the government again making up the balance (MEED 3:5:85). [Text] [London MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC DIGEST in English 22-28 Feb 86 p 32] /9317

CSO: 4400/119

FIVE-YEAR PLAN, TRADE WITH EAST BLOC COUNTRIES DISCUSSED

London MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC REVIEW/THE MIDDLE EAST BUSINESS WEEKLY in English
22 Feb 86 p 10

[Text] The government is to seek fresh sources of finance to fund the Af 115,000 million (\$2,300 million) 1986-91 five-year plan, which comes into force on 21 March. Finance will be sought on both the domestic and foreign markets.

The plan's priority is to raise the Afghan people's living standards, President Karmal said on 4 February. Wider use will be made of private business interests and local merchants to meet requirements for basic goods.

The government recently began to prepare a series of measures to encourage the private sector, describing "national capitalism" as an essential pillar of economic development (MEED 1:2:86).

Most of the funds are expected to come from the Soviet Union and other Comecon countries. Aid from western countries and China has been frozen since the 1979 Soviet intervention, and UN funds have now virtually dried up.

East Europeans sign trade pacts

Trade agreements have been signed with the Soviet Union and East Germany. The former calls for two-way trade to grow by 30 per cent over the next five years, the official Soviet news agency TASS reports.

Soviet trade with Afghanistan has grown by almost 300 per cent in the past five years, the agency reports, quoting Moscow's Foreign Trade Minister Boris Aristov. Two-way trade in 1984/85 was valued at 900 million roubles (\$1,178 million), and accounted for more than 66 per cent of Afghanistan's total trade (MEED 21:12:85).

According to the latest agreement, signed in Moscow on 13 February, the Soviet Union will supply transport and agricultural equipment, raw materials, fuel and food. In return, it will take farm produce, raw materials and consumer goods, the agency reports.

East Germany is to provide electrical and light industrial goods, and pharmaceuticals. It will import dried fruit and agricultural products. The agreement was signed in Kabul on 16 February.

IN BRIEF

• The US senate has revoked Afghanistan's most favoured nation trading status. The move is not expected to have a great impact, as trade between the two countries is minimal (MEED 31:8:85). US exports — mainly weapons, medical supplies and tobacco — have fallen from \$66 million in 1979, to a record low of \$3.4 million in 1985. Afghan exports, which had held steady up to 1984 at about \$10 million a year, dipped to \$7.1 million in 1985. US exports will not be much affected by the 1 February decision, as they mainly enter the country illegally, through guerrilla or smuggling operations.

• Work started officially in mid-January on the Kunduz 32-MVA substation, being built with Soviet economic and technical assistance (MEED 1:2:86). The project, which includes a 110-kV transmission line to the Soviet border, will cost Af 260 million (\$5.1 million), plus \$4 million from a long-term credit with Moscow. Due for completion at the end of 1986, the extended line will serve 40,000 homes; the job is being carried out by the local General Department of High-Voltage Transmission Lines & Substations.

• State-run *Millie Bus* is to build a bus repair complex in Kabul with Czechoslovakian help. The company is at present expanding its network in the capital with the purchase of 400 buses from India's *Tata*; it also operates in Mazar-i-Sharif, Herat and Jalalabad (MEED 8:2:86).

• The government has allocated Af 1,250 million (\$ 25 million) over the past four years to religious needs. Of this, about Af 722 million (\$ 14 million) went on helping Muslims to make the hajj (pilgrimage to Makkah). During the same period, 114 new mosques were built and 1,025 restored.

• More than 1.5 million Afghans have learned to read and write since the 1978 Saur (April) revolution. Thirteen thousand teachers are involved in more than 20,000 special literacy courses, government figures show.

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CSO: 4600/238

FOUR HUNDRED BUSES PURCHASED FROM INDIA

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 7 Jan 86 p 4

[Text] The Afghan Millie Bus Enterprise has purchased 400 new Tata buses from India. The buses soon to be brought into the country, will solve the city transport problem of Kabul citizens.

A public utility project, the enterprise has currently 600 buses, including trolley-buses of different makes constantly at the service of citizens.

The workers of the enterprise, apart from attending to their routine jobs, also take active part in security, organisational and social activities. For example, 797 workers are voluntarily defending their institute in the self-defence group of the enterprise, 560 workers of the enterprise have organised crash jobs in various sections, on voluntary basis to overfulfil their plan targets.

The Women's Democratic Organisation of the enterprise has 92 members who not only participate in organisational work but also work alongside their brothers in the defence of the enterprise. Twenty four of them carry out their duties as mechanics in the technical shops. This year 300 drivers of the enterprise have pledged to overfulfil their tasks outside their fixed programme. In other words, they will voluntarily add an extra trip their normal schedule to serve the city's commuters.

Ninety buses were used to transport early this year, the inhabitants of Panjshair district from Kabul, who had forcibly left their homes and come to the capital as a result of the criminal deeds of the counter-revolutionaries.

Sixty members of the youth organisation of the enterprise had taken active part in three groups in the repair of electric pylons in Sarobi that were destroyed by the counter-revolutionaries. The total membership of the youth organisation of the enterprise is 78. Seventy members of the organisation are currently serving as soldiers of the revolution at the precinct level.

The primary party organisation of Millie Bus Enterprise with its 370 members plays an essential role in the routine and collective work among workers. In the work competitions organised in the current year, in the

production shops of the enterprise, 200 model workers received cash prizes and letters of merit. Also in the work emulations organised by the Kabul City Council of Trade Unions, Millie Bus Enterprise won the second position in the transport section.

In the current year (begun March 21, 1985) in recognition of the indefatigable efforts of workers, six medals of honesty and orders have been awarded to them. Thirty two others received letters of merit. Besides, two workers and three of their children have been sent for recreation and rest to the friendly country, the USSR.

Inayatullah Kargar, head of the trade union of Millie Bus Enterprise said: There are at present 2,365 workers at the enterprise, all of whom are members of the trade union. The trade union in the current year has given long-term loans to 198 workers and has granted financial aid to 50 others. Workers, once deprived of the blessing of literacy due to lack of financial support and because of tyranny of the past despotic regimes, have been enrolled in complementary workers' school within the enterprise. The school has from grade four to grade eight in which are currently enrolled 88 workers. Meanwhile, 470 workers are organised in 21 literacy courses, being run in two shifts daily, before noon and afternoon.

Health clinic, kindergarten and creche for the workers and their children are functioning normally. The workers receive not only medical treatment but also hospitalised when necessary. In order to provide additional facilities for the workers, a public bath has been built within the enterprise.

The enterprise has artistic groups and sports teams. In the competitions held this year by the Kabul City Council of Trade Unions, the tug of war team of Millie Bus won the first position.

Zobiar Ahmad, one of the young and creative workers of Millie Bus said: "We, workers, not only work but also read lessons and defend the revolution. Because, the April Revolution has become victorious in the interest of the workers. Therefor, we are also ready to sacrifice ourselves for its gains."

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CSO: 4600/234

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES FORGING AHEAD

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 9 Jan 86 p 4

[Text] The changes in rural life of Afghanistan which have been envisaged in the plans by the party and the DRA state are fully realistic, because they are based on effective and modern material infrastructure. The changes which should take place in this sphere consist of regular utilization of technology and agricultural machinery, establishment of cooperatives, canals and other irrigational projects, etc.

After the victory of the April revolution and especially in its new and evolutionary phase, the cooperative movement has gained wide dimensions in the rural areas and has been developed as a mobilising force for the peasants of the country. The agricultural cooperatives develop for the purpose of performing credit services, supplying required material and agricultural implements, marketing of agricultural products, paving the ground for useful consultations and technical advice to peasants, raising the quantitative and qualitative level of production and improving the standard of living of peasants and finally moving up the level of income of all people in the countryside.

Obviously, the peasants are not able to provide their required material individually. But they are able to achieve their goal through establishing cooperative organisations and credit sources.

Likewise, the peasants can sell their surplus agricultural production through cooperatives in foreign and local markets at appropriate prices. A source attached to the Department of Agricultural Cooperatives Development gave the following details about its activity and achievements:

In pursuance of the party and state resolutions and implementation of the socio-economic development plans of the DRA state, the Department has carried out during the first six months of the current Afghan year (began March 21, 1985).

Extensive activities for improving and developing the agricultural cooperatives, despite the subversions of the counter-revolutionary elements.

The establishment and registration of 19 agricultural cooperatives with a membership of over 15,000, a capital of Afs 700,000 and an area of 2790 hectares of agricultural land in the provinces indicate an increase of 27 percent compared to the first six months of the previous year. Similarly, rehabilitation of 24 agricultural cooperatives with a membership of over 4,000 people and a capital and membership fee of 1.9 million Afs and an area of 4900 hectares of agricultural land indicate two times increased compared to the same period of last year. Over 1000 people have newly been attracted to the membership of cooperatives with a capital and membership fee of Afs 470,000 and an agricultural area of over 10,000 in a number of provinces of the country. Also, 84 cooperative balance sheets have been prepared and 173 volumes of accounting books, required by the cooperatives, have also been distributed by the central department.

The source added:

The appropriation of Afs 5.5 million from the developmental budget of the government has been spent for building infrastructure of demonstrative agricultural cooperatives in Kaul, Jauzjan, Faryab, Balkh and Nangarhar provinces.

Similarly, supply of facilities for production and distribution of about Afs 21.7 million productive loans including fertilizers, wheat and pesticides have been undertaken, designating an increase of 21 percent compared to the plan target. Approximately credit worth Afs 37.6 million for marketing, agricultural machinery and farm development was distributed to the agricultural cooperatives by the credit sources. During the first six months of the current year, an amount of over 3000 tons of chemical fertilizers, 66 tons of improved seeds, 142 tons of pesticides, 435 tons of seed cotton and 200 boxes of silk worm egg were also sold to the members of agricultural cooperatives.

Further, an amount of one million Afs has been paid to the agricultural cooperatives in the form of long-term credit to establish subsidiary farms.

According to another source of the department, various measures have been taken for the supply and export of materials of the agricultural cooperatives.

Steps were taken for exporting 6710 tons of grapes, 300 tons of pomegranates, 350 tons of wool and 58,000 karakul pelts to foreign markets, and sale and delivery of over 30,000 tons of surplus agricultural products to local markets and state institutions. Also during the first six months of the current year, two orientation courses for the members of the PDPA and cooperatives' staff, 13 courses for the board of directors and inspectors of the cooperatives and four courses on other cooperative affairs were held in which 249 cooperative staff, members of the board of directors and inspectors of cooperatives have attended. More than 8,000 copies of publicity, training and information material have also been distributed to the cooperatives and other relevant organs.

At present, 499 technical and administrative personnel are busy in dispatching material and technical assistance to the cooperatives throughout the country.

On the whole we can say that the activity of agricultural cooperatives has tremendously increased compared to the same period last year.

The relevant figures also indicate that the rate of state assistance to the agricultural cooperatives has increased massively and the volume of such aid is going up every year.

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CSO: 4600/234

REPORTER SEES SETBACK IN INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 11 Feb 86 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Feb 10--If the official rumblings both here and in Pakistan are any indication, the great expectations of a new and friendly chapter unfolding between India and Pakistan before the summer would seem to have suffered a setback less than eight weeks after President Zia's visit to the capital.

If the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr Mohammed Khan Junejo, has been talking of Kashmir, one has heard Mr Bali Ram Bhagat, External Affairs Minister, telling the U.S. President, his Secretary of State, other officials, Senators and Congressmen of how dangerous American military assistance to Pakistan really was for India--that it not only posed a threat to India but forced her to spend more on defence.

Mr Bhagat's arguments must have been as repetitive as the Americans' reply that Pakistan needed these arms to ward off threats from the western frontier.

Even so, well-informed sources say, a point of significance is that Mr Bhagat managed to get from the U.S. Defence Secretary the assurance that the USA would ensure that in supplying arms to Pakistan the balance was not tilted against India. In other words, the USA was aware of the quantum and sophistication of arms possessed by both countries and, using her own judgment, would make sure that Pakistan did not have an edge over India.

Quite apart from arms supplies to Pakistan, India has been concerned over the reported links between the Sikh extremists and Pakistanis, despite President Zia's assurance during his visit that such allegations went against normalization of ties, but that he would look into the problem in a determined manner. "The important thing was to satisfy each other that such a thing was not happening," he said. Recent investigations have reportedly revealed continued Pakistani links.

An immediate fallout of India's strong feelings on the subject, further confirmed by certain statements reportedly made by apprehended Sikh extremists might be that Mr Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Pakistan might not take place in the next two or three months.

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CSO: 4600/1456

PRESS REPORTS, COMMENTS ON BHAGAT VISIT TO U.S.

U.S. Ambassador's Efforts Noted

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Jan 86 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 22.

The U.S. Government appears to be attaching considerable importance to the visit of the External Affairs Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, to Washington early next month, since his schedule includes calls on the President and the Vice-President besides talks with the Secretaries of State, Treasury and Commerce.

Though he is going to the U.S. primarily to attend the ministerial meeting of the Indo-American Joint Commission, the Reagan Administration is treating the visit as part of the ongoing process of high-level consultations between the two countries, which started last year with the Prime Minister's trip to Washington.

An exception: It is not customary for the U.S. Government to lay on meetings with the President and the Vice-President for visiting Foreign Ministers, especially from third world countries, unless there are special reasons for making an exception. But the U.S. has been making a conscious effort ever since Mr. Rajiv Gandhi became Prime Minister to establish better understanding and promote closer cooperation with India as part of the new foreign policy pursuits of the Reagan Administration.

The Indian Ambassador to the U.S., Mr. K. S. Bajpai, who came to Delhi for consultations, left today for Washington to prepare for Mr. Bhagat's visit. The U.S. Ambassador to India, Mr. John Gunther Dean, is also leaving for Washington shortly for participating in the Joint Commission meeting.

Good rapport: After he arrived in Delhi a few months ago to take up this challenging assignment, Mr. Dean has gone about very methodically, travelling extensively and meeting a representative cross-section of prominent people, establishing the right contacts, and sensing the country's current mood, perceiving the aspirations of the present Government and assessing the prospects for better Indo-American relations. He has succeeded in creating a good rapport at the highest level between the two

Governments based on a more realistic understanding of each other's attitude.

From the Indian side, too, the Prime Minister and his advisers have been making an equally positive effort, in the after-glow of his highly successful U.S. visit last year, to sustain the momentum of the new American interest in India by seeking U.S. technological help in several spheres, including defence production. If the old irritants in Indo-U.S. relations cannot be dispelled overnight, the prickly issues like continued American arms aid to Pakistan have been isolated to the extent that the persisting differences over them are being kept within manageable limits and are no longer allowed to impede the latest improvement of relations.

Intensifying cooperation: The U.S. Ambassador, working unobtrusively with great professional skill and dedication, has succeeded in getting his message across to those who matter in the present Government that the two countries should concentrate more on what unites than divides them so that they could proceed to intensify their cooperation without prejudice to their basic positions. This line of reasoning, backed by some substantive gestures in the field of technology transfer, seems to be producing the desired reflexes in Delhi.

It is against this background that the Reagan Administration has decided to attach some additional importance to Mr. Bhagat's visit. A lot of preparatory work is being done by both sides to treat this as an adjunct to the Prime Minister's own trip to the U.S. last year which opened a new chapter in Indo-American relations.

The purpose of this visit is not to break any new ground, much less arrive at any important decisions, but keep up the continuity of high-level contacts and generate enough mutual confidence to enable the two sides to discuss their concerns and differences candidly from time to time without souring their relations. And this seems to be the belief with which Mr. Bhagat will be going to Washington.

8 Feb Activities

Madras THE HINDU in English 9 Feb 86 p 1

[Article by R. Chakrapani]

[Text]

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8.

The External Affairs Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, said yesterday that he was "hopeful" the U.S. would approve the sale of super-computers to India. He also expected transfer of computer technology in one or two new areas.

At an informal press conference, he was asked about his discussions with the President, Mr. Reagan, the Vice-President, Mr. George Bush, the Defence Secretary, Mr. Caspar Weinberger and the Secretary of State, Mr. George P. Shultz. He was also asked about the likelihood of India getting super-computers.

Mr. Bhagat said the question of sale was currently being processed with reference to the safeguards to be attached. But, he said, U.S. clearance for their export to India looked promising.

Question of safeguards: While Mr. Bhagat did not spell out the safeguards, it is known that they are the same as applies to export of all sensitive and sophisticated technology to foreign countries. The U.S. does not want this technology to pass into the hands of the Soviet Union or to be used in nuclear programmes. While the State Department has urged their sale to India, the Pentagon has been hesitant to approve it. Apparently, at Mr. Bhagat's meeting with Mr. Weinberger, reportedly held at the Pentagon's suggestion, the air seems to have been cleared.

Moreover, India's decision to enter into an agreement with the Control Data Corporation for the purchase of computers and manufacturing technology at an approximate value of \$500 millions in due course is another factor positively influencing the U.S. to sell super-computers to India.

Yesterday, Mr. Bhagat, speaking at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies of the Georgetown University, had said that following the understanding reached by the two countries and the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding, the acquisition of dual technology, both for civilian and military purposes,

was under way. These discussions were going on very well. "We on our part have a big offer for the purchase of computers from the Control Data Corporation", he said.

"In the process, we are looking forward to very good cooperation in the defence field."

Significant gesture: Mr. Reagan's decision to receive Mr. Bhagat at the Oval Office is viewed as a significant gesture. Normally, U.S. Presidents do not meet Foreign Ministers. Such a gesture is reserved for very few countries. His decision to meet Mr. Bhagat is seen here as a sign of improved Indo-American relations.

The meeting with Mr. Reagan, though it lasted a bare 15 minutes, was very warm and cordial, Mr. Bhagat said. Mr. Reagan expressed his appreciation of the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's initiative in starting a process of confidence-building measures among India's neighbours, especially Pakistan.

Later at his meeting with Mr. Bush, there were discussions on bilateral relations and some of the problems in the region.

IDA assistance: Another issue that figured at the meeting with Mr. Shultz was India's need for continued IDA assistance. Mr. Bhagat pointed out that India's share of IDA, which stood at 40 per cent for several years, had now shrunk to 22 per cent in spite of absolute poverty conditions prevailing in large parts of the country. He urged that its share should not go below 22 per cent if it was not possible to increase it. Mr. Bhagat said he expected this request to be considered by the U.S. administration at the appropriate time.

Sri Lanka problem: Besides Pakistan's nuclear programme, his discussions at various levels also included the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka. "The U.S. is supporting the role India is playing to bring about a peaceful solution to this problem", he said.

More on Press Conference

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 9 Feb 86 pp 1, 9

[Article by Warren Unna]

[Text]

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8.—India's Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Bal Ram Bhagat, was very upbeat last night in summarizing his half-week visit here for the Indo-U.S. Joint Commission and talks with a cross-section of the U.S. Government and public groups.

"Our doubts were not disputed, and our bona fide were not questioned. The high-water mark in all our Government discussions was that there was not a single contentious issue raised on either side, even though some were issues which, in themselves, were contentious," the Minister declared in summarizing his visit to Indian reporters.

For example, he acknowledged that the Reagan Administration had accused India of being a "yes-man" to the Soviet Union in its voting at the United Nations. So, he told a critical Senator during his session with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he would "have a look" to see if India indeed was on record for such a voting pattern. But he also reminded the Senator that it was quite possible the Soviet Union might be the one consciously casting its U.N. votes with India and the non-aligned nations.

He also acknowledged U.S. interest in joining India in a treaty to eliminate double taxation of citizens earning income in both the U.S. and India. He openly indicated that India's hesitation was that in making any new concessions to the U.S., India might find itself having to pass these on to the Western European nations whose earlier treaties with India didn't

have such favourable concessions. But the Minister indicated he thought it all could be worked out when the Indo-U.S. business sub-committee held its meeting next month in Delhi.

Asked about another U.S. objective, the establishment of a long-term, self-sustaining Indo-American fund which would draw \$ 110 million of U.S.-held rupee repayments to finance reciprocal educational, cultural and scientific projects, India's Minister of External Affairs also was optimistic.

"It is under very active consideration. Nothing is holding it up. We should see something very soon," he declared. U.S. officials declined comment, other than to indicate the hesitations, until now, have all been on India's side.

India, after much consideration, has just agreed to purchase \$ 26 million in computer main frames from the U.S. Control Data Corporation; a major transfer of advanced technology which U.S. businessmen see as the beginning of a half-billion-dollar exchange. The purchase is expected to provide concrete argument to nay-sayers in the U.S. Pentagon who have been reluctant to approve super-computer sales because they both doubt-

ted the seriousness of India's computer interest and the safeguards it could mount in keeping sensitive U.S. computer technology from being slipped to the Soviets.

Minister Bhagat was asked yesterday whether the U.S. now might be reconciled to selling India a huge, multi-million-dollar fast-operating control data "super computer" with the potential for dual military applications. He recalled his talks here and quickly replied: "I think so." Several questions later, he decided to be a cautious diplomat and told reporters to modify that statement with this: "I meant to say 'hopeful.' Secretary of State Shultz told us that it is being processed with every intention of trying to meet our problem."

An Indian reporter who also is an academician, asked why India was holding up approval on American scholars seeking to do research in India. Here India's Ambassador to the U.S., K. Shankar Bajpai, interceded. He said that of 120 such cases, 89 already had been cleared, 12 rejected and only 19 still were waiting approval.

On foreign affairs, Minister Bhagat told reporters he had informed U.S. officials here that India's assistance in the Sri Lanka situation had hit a "set-back" requiring postponement of the scheduled visit to Colombo of the Foreign Secretary. He blamed this on the Sri Lankan Government's "insistence on a military solution before there is a political solution."

Yesterday morning, Minister Bhagat addressed the Georgetown University Centre for Strategic and International Studies and went into great detail in explaining the origins and objectives of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, a term and concept which until now has received little attention for understanding in the U.S.

The CSIS is a leading conservative think tank and at the end of his SAARC speech, India's top diplomat was asked about Afghanistan. First, he said that he now thought it was a problem which can be "solved"--because it was a factor in improving Soviet-American relations which now were reapproaching a detente.

But then, when asked what it would take to get the Soviets to withdraw their troops from Afghanistan, the Minister said "assurance of a non-aligned, neutral Afghanistan at the Soviet borders, just like a Finland or an Austria." The conservative think tank's chairman couldn't let that one pass: "Wasn't that all true before the Soviets invaded Afghanistan?" he asked.

India's Minister of External Affairs then took the fall-back position of the Soviet troops having been "invited in" by the Afghan Government. In the words of one U.S. State Department official in yesterday's CSIS audience, "He sure laid an egg on that one."

Importance of Control Data Agreement

Madras THE HINDU in English 10 Feb 86 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

THE AGREEMENT WITH the American firm, Control Data Corporation, for the manufacture of sophisticated mainframe computers concluded during the visit of the External Affairs Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, to Washington is the most significant single deal since the Memorandum of Understanding on the transfer of high technology was signed with the United States in May 1985. The memorandum itself had opened up the flow of high technology in a significant measure—trade in high technology which was at \$500 millions in 1984 rose to \$1500 millions in 1985. The new clearance procedures involving standardised sets of forms and conditions and efforts to clear them fast must have played a big

part in speeding up the purchases. Not that such sophisticated equipment whose export from the U.S. is restricted on 'strategic' grounds comes in without strings. The restriction on use outside the originally stated purpose, and particularly in nuclear science, and the right of the U.S. to be involved in any bona fide investigation should diversion be suspected, are among the somewhat rigid terms that the Government of India has decided the country can live with if it is to get such high technology from that source. (The precedent of bilateral nuclear supply agreements, such as the 1963 agreement relating to Tarapur, can be considered relevant here; in that they incorporate specific supply related, although not general purpose restrictions.) But the latest transfer of computer manufacturing technology in what is considered a dual use area—involving civilian and possible military application in certain spheres—does mark a change, albeit slight, in American policy in this area.

While the intensification of high technology transfer is a positive step, the political and strategic problems with the U.S. remain. The repeated protests from the Government of India over the arming of the Pakistani military regime and

the winking at the frenetic efforts to build a nuclear explosive or weapon have left Washington unmoved. In fact, a new and enlarged U.S. military aid package for the next three years is in the offing—this contrasts with the cut in aid to India from \$80 millions in 1986 to \$72.5 millions in 1987. There have no doubt been hints that the package for Pakistan would include not quite the very latest in military systems, but its content has not been made clear yet. If new and qualitatively higher order weaponry does go to Pakistan, it is bound to cast on India an increasingly heavy burden that the matching modernisation of its armed forces would involve. On the purely political front, the outcome of the South Asian Regional Cooperation summit in Dacca seems to have won a pat from Washington, and perhaps in a remote way even prompted it to adopt a fresh attitude on the technology transfer area. The U.S. would also be egging India on to show improved results in the bid to improve its bilateral relations with Pakistan. It is difficult to understand how, so long as the U.S. administration continues to treat Pakistan as a "frontline state" on the ground that the Soviet troops are in Afghanistan and uses this argument to support it militarily well beyond its legitimate defence needs, there can be a real breakthrough.

Recognition of India's Needs

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 10 Feb 86 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

The agreed minutes of the Indo-US Joint Commission, chaired by Mr Bali Ram Bhagat and Mr George Shultz, are most significant for the acknowledgement they contain of "the continuing need for India's access to concessional finance." If this is read in the context of Mr Bhagat's forthright plea for soft loans from the IDA to fight both the hard core of India's poverty and pursue its present liberal policies, it would seem that there is the beginning of a change of heart on the part of the Reagan administration. It had marked itself out in recent years by arguing that India's high credit rating qualified it for more of international commercial loans rather than concessional finance from multilateral agencies. Only a few days back the US had fallen in line with other donor countries and pledged to work for the higher replenishment figure of \$12 million for the IDA instead of its earlier preference for the level of \$10 million. While this was a positive step, it meant little additionally to India as indications were that India's share would not go up proportionally but be protected at the earlier absolute level. Now the tone and spirit of the joint commission's assertion raises hopes that concessional finance to India will grow rather than remain static.

What has caused this change of heart, if there has been any, on the part of the US administration? One indirect reason can be that India's need for such finance has grown significantly in the last few months and its lobbying for the same must have become correspondingly more intense. But what can have weighed with the US President's men more is the fact that India is in a tight spot on the balance of payments front precisely because it is practising the kind of liberalisation that they themselves believe in. So if they do not lend a helping hand at this juncture, then who will? India has also put forward the economic argument that under a liberalised regime imports rise first and exports catch up a little later after the cost structure of the economy has gone down. This may not be very true but is part of the conventional wisdom currently governing the US and the World Bank. So what can they do but appreciate their own logic. The current state of rises in administered prices is an instance of India on its own undertaking the sort of corrective measures that the recipients of such assistance are usually asked to do. So totally ignoring India's plea for concessional assistance at this stage would amount to the World Bank thwarting the success of its most cherished medicine midway through the course. The concessions that India actually has to make can be rather small. Once the present difficulties are tidied over, exports could rise for their own reasons. At that stage it would not take much time to restore food subsidies or even expand them.

What the present liberalised regime will do irreversibly, if it continues, is integrate the Indian economy more and more to western technology and its specifications. Correspondingly the dependence on Soviet technology and its role in the Indian economy will reduce. The Soviets then will have gradually less of a say in Indian economic decision making. Already India has a substantial trade surplus with the USSR and is hard put to find sufficient suitable technology to buy and set that balance right. India can use the surplus only to buy advanced weaponry from the USSR but here also India is moving towards the west, not for such top of the line items as MiG 29 but for such standard stuff like helicopters and field guns. If to this scenario is added the substantial reduction in regional tension that a no-war pact with Pakistan later in the year can bring, then the role of the Soviets as a friend of the last resort will be downgraded. By that time the US will have helped India out with the concessional finance which it had previously withheld for a time.

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CSO: 4600/1455

PAPER REPORTS DRAFT CODE OF CONDUCT FOR CONGRESS-I

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 18 Feb 86 pp 1, 9

[Text] New Delhi, Feb 17--The draft code of conduct for Congressmen, as formulated already by the party's Central Parliamentary Board, lays down that "the principle of one-man-one-post should be strictly followed except with the express permission of the president."

The draft code which now goes to the Congress(I)'s highest policy-making body, the Working Committee, when it meets here on Wednesday, enjoins upon partymen, particularly Ministers, M.P.s and MLAs, several injunctions that forbid "luxurious living and vulgar display of wealth."

Marriages

"There shall be no pomp and excessive ostentation in marriages and other social functions in their families. They should also avoid attending or being associated with similar functions organized by others," the draft says.

"Congress Ministers should ordinarily avoid hospitality from persons belonging to the affluent class," it stipulates.

The draft says that no Congressmen or any member of his family--wife, husband or dependent children--should own any liquor shop or deal in drugs and narcotics.

Land Ceilings

"Every Congressman shall strictly observe the laws with respect to land ceilings, urban or agricultural. He shall furnish the details of his land holding or property to the Congress committee of which he is a member and in case of M.P.s, MLAs, to the leader of the House concerned of which he or she is a member.

"Every MLA/M.P. and Minister shall submit a return of the movable and immovable property belonging to him and his family to the leader of the legislature party concerned in the month of June every year. Every office-bearer of the AICC and PCC will submit his property return to the president

concerned in the month of June every year. The newly-elected or nominated members to the legislature or Parliament or to the party office will submit such returns within a period of three months of the date of their nomination or election.

"Every Congressman shall be prompt in payment of taxes and Government dues.

"No Congressman should involve himself in the day-to-day administration of the Government except for redressal of general and genuine grievances of the people.

Funds

"Collection of funds can be made by Congressmen only in accordance with the instructions and guidelines of the Congress president to be issued in this behalf. All funds so collected would be duly accounted for in accordance with the instructions and guidelines.

"Ministers while making public commitments should be sure of implementation of the commitments so made within a prescribed time. Party members should not criticize the accepted policies and programmes of the party Government in public through the Press.

Listed Classes

"Every Congressman shall try to help Scheduled Castes/Tribes and poorer sections of the society in cases of disputes with regard to agricultural land or house sites.

"In case of communal or other tension in any locality, a Congressman should take the initiative in preventing the situation from deteriorating and make all efforts to bring about normalcy. The Pradesh Congress Committees, District Congress Committees and leaders of legislature parties would take immediate action against erring Congressmen.

"Congressmen, particularly office-bearers, M.P.s, MLAs and Ministers should join the well-known festivals of the minorities like Id, Christmas, Guruparb etc. whenever feasible."

Certified Khadi

Apart from this code of conduct, every active Congress member, MLA, M.P., Minister and elected representatives as well as office-bearers have been reminded of certain "rules" already forming part of the party constitution. They stipulate that a Congressman should be a habitual wearer of certified khadi. He should abstain from alcoholic drinks and intoxicant drugs. He should neither believe in nor practice untouchability in any shape or form and undertake to work for its removal. He should believe in an integrated society without distinction of religion or caste. He should perform minimum tasks including manual labour as may be prescribed by the Working Committee. He should not own property in excess of ceiling laws; subscribe to and work for the promotion of secularism, socialism and democracy; and shall not directly or indirectly, openly or otherwise adversely criticize the accepted policies and programmes of the party, except through party forums.

MOVE AFOOT TO REORGANIZE DEFENSE MINISTRY

Madras THE HINDU in English 9 Feb 86 p 12

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Feb. 8.

A move is afoot to reorganise the Defence Ministry and restructure the headquarters of the Army, Navy and Air Force, to provide for greater functional efficiency, administrative co-ordination and integrated thinking on the inter-related problems of threat perceptions, strategic concepts and operational requirements in the prevailing security environment.

The Defence Ministry, as constituted at present, is primarily intended to assert civilian supremacy, exercise proper financial control and regulate service promotions, while providing the necessary liaison between the Cabinet and the Service chiefs at the level of the higher defence organisation.

Redefinition of responsibilities: The attempt now is not to down-grade the role of the Defence Ministry as such, but to redefine its responsibilities so that the Service headquarters are not denied their due voice in matters relating to their respective functions. As a logical follow up of this move for a proper demarcation of responsibilities between the civilian and service components of the defence establishment, it is proposed to take a fresh look at the existing division of functions at the Army, Navy and Air Headquarters, to evolve a more efficient hierarchical system.

As a result of the proposed reallocation, the vice-chiefs of the three Services are likely to emerge as more important figures, sharing some of the responsibilities of their chiefs in running the respective establishments. The idea is that the chiefs should concentrate on providing effective leadership at the high level, without burdening themselves with routine chores of military administration.

Easier access to P.M.: The absence of a full-time Defence Minister, no doubt, hinders decision-making, but it also gives the Service chiefs easier access to the Prime Minister when he happens to hold additional charge of this portfolio for a long time. At present, the main responsibility for providing effective liaison between the Prime Minister and the three Service chiefs falls on the Minister of State, Mr. Arun Singh, who, by virtue of his proximity to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has emerged as a key figure in the defence organisation.

He will have to take the necessary initiative in evolving new ideas and procedures for improving the functioning of the higher defence organisation. And as part of this exercise, some thinking has already been done both on the need and scope for structural changes, to eliminate duplication of authority, overlapping of responsibilities and resultant frictions in the relationship between the Defence Ministry and the three Services.

/9317

CSO: 4600/1454

SIGNS MIZORAM FRONT NOT READY TO CONCLUDE ACCORD

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 1 Feb 86 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 31.—An accord on Mizoram, which Mr Rajiv Gandhi had proposed to conclude in December last after the completion of talks with the Mizo leader, Mr Laldenga, is proving to be elusive.

Mr Laldenga, who took leave of the Prime Minister just before Christmas to be away for a little while and spent the festive days with his family in London, has failed to turn up since, and sign the accord.

Ministerial sources today expressed surprise at reports circulated by Mr Laldenga that he was in touch with the Prime Minister, for they asserted there had been no communication between the two ever since Mr Laldenga left India in December.

The presumption in the official circles for Mr Laldenga's failure to resume the final stage of negotiations is that he has apparently not succeeded in persuading his extremist colleagues to his line of thinking.

Indeed, it is stated that at the last moment when the Government of India was preparing itself to sign an agreement on the

terms already discussed and accepted, Mr Laldenga "surprisingly dragged his feet." And insisted on the provision of a separate High Court for Mizoram and special safeguards for the Mizos with regard to trade and commerce.

Mr Laldenga then sent back his colleagues, Mr Tawoolula and Mr Thankima, who were also participating in the Delhi talks, to Aizawl enroute to the Mizo National Front headquarters in Bangladesh, ostensibly to consult the

MNF Council about the proposed agreement. It appears that Mr Tawoolula and Mr Tankima have not succeeded in securing the consent of the MNF Council.

According to information received in the Home Ministry, section of the MNF, led by Col. Lalrawna, is not also prepared to give up arms. It is said Col. Lalrawna's group is transferring arms to the headquarters of the Tripura insurgents in Bangladesh. Another reason, it is thought here, could be that Mr Laldenga is not sure of the MNF being able to capture power in the elections that would follow after the conclusion of the proposed accord and the grant of full Statehood to Mizoram.

/9317

CSO: 4600/1439

GOVERNMENT ACCUSED OF INACTION ON PUNJAB

Madras THE HINDU in English 15 Feb 86 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Feb. 14.

The Centre is being accused by some critics within the ruling Congress (I), not to speak of those in the Opposition, of vacillation bordering on pusillanimity over the appalling developments in Punjab, where a few hundred extremists are openly defying its authority by indulging in secessionist activities after entrenching themselves in the Golden Temple.

The current feeling in political circles in Delhi is that, if the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, does not assert himself and act resolutely in facing this challenge while some soft options are still open to him, he might be compelled by the remorseless logic of these disquieting events to take drastic action, as Indira Gandhi did, with disastrous consequences.

Mood of cynicism: The critics contend that, in attempting to explain away its indecision with the apologia that it was deliberately adopting a policy of inaction to avoid embarrassment to the Barnala Government, the Centre was unwittingly creating an air of helplessness in Punjab, compelling the troubled people to reconcile themselves to terrorism as a disconcerting fact of life from which there was no easy escape.

It is not surprising that the people in Punjab are no longer reacting with the same sense of outrage to the daily killings of innocent persons by the extremists, while two years back each one of such incidents created widespread indignation followed by persistent demands for strong action. This new attitude of cynicism is having just the opposite impact by generating doubts about the capacity and determination of the Centre to deal firmly with the developing crisis in Punjab.

Hardliners bolder: The Political Affairs Committee of the Cabinet continues to meet almost every other day to review the Punjab situation, but it has chosen to let the Akali Government handle the threat of renewed terrorism to avoid

the impression of undue Central interference. This extra solicitude for constitutional propriety, despite daily killings of innocents by extremists bent on striking terror and destabilising this sensitive border State, is emboldening the hardliners to re-enact the Bhindranwale drama with all its tragic overtones.

The failure to implement the Rajiv-Longowal accord quickly, leading to the astonishing procrastination over the transfer of Chandigarh and the inexplicable delay in the appointment of different commissions and tribunals followed by the avoidable confusion over the interpretation of their terms of reference, has not helped to enhance the Centre's reputation in handling such complex issues with efficiency and confidence.

The Punjab muddle is also having some repercussions in the conduct of the country's foreign policy, since some of the neighbouring countries here started voicing private misgivings whether the present Government at the Centre will be able to implement any agreements reached over contentious issues like border disputes or ethnic conflicts that are bound to be challenged by one section of opinion or the other in a democratic society. It is not a big parliamentary majority that matters but the will to act with a firmness of purpose in the face of odds that can enhance the prestige of a Government and assure all concerned about its capacity to govern and fulfil its obligations.

All these arguments in favour of a more decisive Central response to the worsening situation in Punjab are being advanced both by the well-wishers and detractors of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's Government on the eve of the budget session which is going to witness some stormy scenes. Those of his advisers, who are aware of the growing dissatisfaction both in the Congress (I) and Opposition, want the Prime Minister to take some bold steps to make it abundantly clear to the Punjab extremists that the Centre would not hesitate to take stern action if they cross the limits of its tolerance.

COMPOSITION OF EXPANDED BIHAR MINISTRY REPORTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 5 Feb 86 p 1

[Text]

Patna, Feb 4 (PTI) — The 11-month old 26-member Bihar Ministry, headed by Mr Bindeshwari Dubey, was today expanded with the induction of three new Cabinet Ministers and eight Ministers of State.

The Chief Minister also dropped two Cabinet ministers—Mr Mahavir Choudhury and Mr Indranath Bhagat—and one Minister of State, Mr Amerendra Mishra and changed the portfolios of most of his colleagues.

A Minister of State, Mr Mahavir Paswan, was elevated to the Cabinet rank.

The new incumbents are: Mr Lokesh Nath Jha, Mr Rajendra Prasad Singh and Mr Bhukla Bhagat (all Cabinet) and Mr Vijay Shankar Dubey, Mr Ishwar Chandra Pandey, Mr Vishwamohan Sharma, Mr Anugraha Narain Singh, Mr Rajendra Prasad Yadav, Mr Sanatan Sarda, Mr Surendra Prasad Tarun and Mr Yamuna Prasad Ram (all Ministers of State).

Governor P Venkatasubbiah administered the oath of office and secre-

cy to the new incumbents at a brief ceremony at the Raj Bhawan.

The Chief Minister and his ministerial colleagues and high officials were present on the occasion.

The strength of the Ministry has now gone up to 34—14 Cabinet and 20 Ministers of State. There is no Deputy Minister.

Following is the list of Ministers along with their portfolios:-

Mr Bindeshwari Dubey, Chief Minister—Cabinet, Administrative Reforms, Home, Planning, Finance, Industry, Information and Public Relations;

Mr Lahtan Choudhury—Agriculture and 20-point Programme Implementation;

Mr Ram Jaipal Singh Yadav—Revenue, Relief and Rehabilitation and Land Reforms;

Mr Ramashray Prasad Singh—Water Resources Development, Irrigation, Power and Parliamentary Affairs;

Mr Dinesh Kumar Singh—Health, Medical Education and Family Welfare;

Mr Sidheshwar Prasad—Rural Development and Panchayati Raj;

Mrs Uma Pandey—Labour, Employment and Tourism;

Mr Saryu Mishra has been shifted from health department to minor irrigation and religious trust. Mr Dinesh Kumar Singh, who earlier held food and civil supply, has been allotted health.

Of the other two new Cabinet Ministers, Mr Bhukla Bhagat has been given forest and environment and Mr Rajendra Prasad Singh building constructions.

Mr Mahavir Paswan, who was elevated to the Cabinet rank, has been allotted welfare and jail.

The Chief Minister said that he would undertake yet another expansion of his ministry.

Talking to newsmen soon after the swearing-in ceremony, Mr Dubey, however, declined to say as to when the next phase of the expansion would take place.

Asked to comment on the reasons for dropping two Cabinet Ministers and one Minister of State, Mr Dubey said "no comment".

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CSO: 4600/1446

ATTEMPTS TO ALLAY SOVIET FEARS OF U.S. TILT

Madras THE HINDU in English 17 Feb 86 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Feb. 16.

An earnest attempt is being made by India behind the scenes to allay Soviet misgivings about a pro-American tilt in the country's relationship with the two super powers to the detriment of Moscow's interests in the region.

Despite India's repeated disavowal of any fundamental shift in its foreign policy pursuits, the Soviet Union has continued to voice some concern privately about the wider political repercussions, especially in the third world, of the country's current efforts to cultivate the U.S. and seek technological cooperation extending even to the defence sphere.

The Soviet Vice-President, Mr. V. Kuznetsov, who led a parliamentary delegation to India last month, had in an oblique way made known Moscow's fears during his private talks with some Indian politicians in Delhi, although he was careful enough not to raise this issue during his official talks with the leaders of the Government. He, however, reflected in a polite but unmistakable manner Moscow's unhappiness over the absence of more articulate and outspoken Indian support for Mr. Gorbachev's new peace initiatives.

The Soviet Union cannot complain, much less protest, against India's present policy of improving relations with the U.S. so long as this does not affect the country's well established friendship with it. But Moscow has tended to take the view that the muffled Indian action to current American policies and actions, which in its opinion is in sharp contrast with the strident tone of its criticism in the past, tends to give the benefit of doubt to Washington.

No basis for criticism: The Indian leaders do not see any basis for this criticism, but they feel

that some steps need to be taken to assuage the Soviet feelings if only to reassure Moscow that the present Government in India is not consciously moving away from it.

As part of this new effort, the resolutions that are being drafted for adoption by the forthcoming meeting of the non-aligned foreign ministers in Delhi will wholeheartedly welcome Mr. Gorbachev's peace plan.

Arjun Singh visiting Moscow: At the bilateral level, the Congress (I) vice-president, Mr. Arjun Singh, is being sent to Moscow at the head of a four-member goodwill delegation to represent the ruling party at the 27th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Soviet offer: From the Soviet side, there are indications of some new offers of defence equipment to match and even outbid, if possible, the American move to establish a technological relationship with India in the development and production of sophisticated weapon systems.

The Soviet Union is evidently waiting for the outcome of the Indo-American discussions under way for transfer of defence-related high technology before coming forward with its own proposals to meet the Indian requirements at a fraction of the high price demanded by U.S. firms.

The Soviet Government is also reported to be quite keen that Mr. Gorbachev should visit India well before President Reagan pays his promised trip to help to consolidate the latest improvement in Indo-American relations.

It would not be surprising if there is an intensification of the super power rivalry during the next few months for influencing Indian opinion in areas where the leadership continues to keep an open mind without prejudice to its present endeavours for a better balanced relationship with Moscow and Washington.

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CSO: 4600/1465

SGPC PRESIDENT TOHRA GIVES REASONS FOR RESIGNATION

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 17 Feb 86 p 1

[Text] Anandpur Sahib, Feb 16--The Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee president, Mr Gurcharan Singh Tohra, today announced his resignation from the posts at the Sarbat Khalsa here, reports UNI.

The Punjab Chief Minister and Akali Dal president, Mr Surjit Singh Barnala, confirmed that he had received two copies of Mr Tohra's resignation letter. One copy was addressed to Mr Barnala and the other to the executive of the SGPC which has the authority to accept or reject the resignation.

Our Special Representative adds: Mr Tohra referred to criticism against him and said that he had handed over his resignation to Mr Barnala and was offering it in the open at the Sarbat Khalsa.

He said he had come to an agreement with others in the Golden Temple to avoid bloodshed. If he had committed an offence by doing so, he was prepared to apologize. He narrated the sequence of events leading to the present situation in the Golden Temple.

Mr Tohra said that if the Panth wanted it and the people were united, "those" in the Golden Temple could be taught a lesson in five days. He urged the people in Punjab and other States, intellectuals and professionals and others to go in deputation to them and tell them that their activities were not in accordance with the tenets of Sikhism.

He also attacked the Centre and said that it was a Central conspiracy to kill Bhindranwale and arrange for the "moral death" of Longowal and himself by arresting them during Operation Bluestar.

Referring to his resignation, he said he was not running away from responsibility, and if Mr Barnala asked him he would be prepared to face anything and make sacrifices.

Mr Barnala said if resignations could settle problems, "all of them" were prepared to quit. He himself was prepared to step down from the Akali Dal presidentship and was not enamoured of power.

Hints about the term of the SGPC being over were also being thrown, he said in an apparent reference to the criticism against Mr Tohra. But it was for the Centre to order fresh SGPC elections and his Government would write to the Centre.

FOREIGN OFFICE STATISTICS SHOW UN VOTING PATTERN

Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Feb 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Feb. 17.

The Foreign Office today released voting statistics in the United Nations to show that the U.S. Senator, Mr. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's charge that India had voted with the U.S. only 16 per cent of the time did not reveal the overall picture or reflect the status of bilateral relations.

The Senator had questioned the External Affairs Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, on India's voting pattern at the U.N. during a meeting with members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee early this month. Mr. Bhagat had replied that he was not aware of the figures Senator Moynihan was citing and stated that not voting with the U.S. was no indication of hostility or unfriendliness.

Mostly by consensus: Figures based on the U.S. State Department report cited by Senator Moynihan actually show that in overall terms U.N. members voted with the U.S. only 23.5 per cent of the time. Further, a majority of the resolutions were passed by consensus. Last year for instance, 60 out of 71 resolutions in the second committee (economic) were passed by consensus.

In the General Assembly last year 178 of the 323 resolutions adopted were passed by consensus and 145 by voting. In terms of percentages, the U.S. opposed 59.4 of the voted

resolutions, abstained on 24.8 per cent and supported only 15.8. India's record was 1.4 per cent (opposed) 85.5 per cent (supported) and 13.1 per cent (abstained).

In fact, if one were to take into account the consensus resolutions, India and the U.S. would have adopted the same positions on 60.08 per cent of resolutions passed by the General Assembly. On disarmament issues last year, 17 of the 62 resolutions were adopted by consensus.

At one with NAM: The resolutions over which India and the U.S. were opposed to each other largely pertained to West Asia, Namibia and South Africa. On these issues, the Indian position has reflected the common stand of the entire non-aligned movement. India voted against the Pakistan-sponsored resolution on converting South Asia into a zone of peace, while the U.S. supported it. India's resolutions calling for the non-use of nuclear weapons and prevention of nuclear war and for a conference on the Indian Ocean was opposed by the U.S.

The official spokesman said the overall coincidence of voting with the U.S. even by close allies like Saudi Arabia (19.3 per cent), Pakistan (22.8 per cent), China (20.5 per cent) were not much higher than India's. He said voting patterns in the U.N. were not a true barometer of bilateral relations as Senator Moynihan seemed to imply.

/9317

CSO: 4600/1468

JANATA NATIONAL EXECUTIVE MEETS 1 FEB

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 2 Feb 86 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Feb 1--The Janata Party's national executive said here today that the rapidly increasing trade gap had deepened the foreign exchange crisis and the country was heading towards devaluation of the rupee. It "will bring untold hardships to the nation's economic life."

Releasing a resolution on the economic situation in the country moved by Mr Madhu Dandavate, Mr George Fernandes, the party's general secretary, said that there had been a loss of 800,000 jobs in the private sector in two years.

The private sector used to employ 300,000 more people every year. For two years, instead of an increase, there had been a drop of 200,000 jobs--from 7.5 million to 7.3 million--from 1983 to 1985, according to Government statistics. He alleged that the Government was trying to "fudge figures of food production."

In view of this, Mr Fernandes said the party would mobilize half a million people from Bihar and east U.P. for a demonstration in Patna in protest against the economic policies, but especially to focus attention on the problems of that region.

He said the Government was devaluing established norms and institutions by increasing prices before the budget. It was part of the effort to run the Government by "executive fiat."

Mr Chandra Shekhar, president of the Janata Party told the national executive here today that the Prime Minister had adopted the attitude of a "superman" to find a solution in his own right. The people concerned in his party and outside in Punjab and Haryana were not taken into confidence.

On the implementation of the Punjab accord, Mr Chandra Shekhar said the Prime Minister "was trying to rush in where angels fear to tread." That had created the situation that was evident now.

He expressed concern over the political violence that had surfaced since the Asom Gana Parishad came to power. The cold-blooded murder of two women in the Hiteswar Saikia family at the gate of their house was shocking. Similar political violence was getting manifested.

In view of the "worst drought in Karnataka in 100 years" the national executive today decided that the party's plenary session on May 1 would be held in Gujarat instead of Karnataka.

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CSO: 4600/1442

INDIA, PAKISTAN FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET PRESS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Jan 86 p 1

[Article by V.T. Joshi]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, January 20.

INDIA has yet to be fully convinced that Pakistan has no nuclear weapons programme but that is a "separate issue," quite apart and distinct from their agreement not to attack each other's nuclear facilities.

This was indicated today by the foreign secretary, Mr. Romesh Bhandari, in reply to questions at a press conference at which his Pakistani counterpart, Mr. Naiz Naik, was also present.

Mr. Bhandari said: "We have expressed our concern and are discussing it. We feel there should be no nuclear weapons in the region."

Mr. Bhandari, who left for Karachi on a day's visit before returning to Delhi after two rounds of inconclusive talks between the Indian and Pakistani delegations in the continuing process of normalisation of bilateral relations, said they had wide-ranging and frank discussions on the proposed treaty of friendship and non-aggression, the terrorist problem in Punjab and various other issues.

He said the aim was to usher in a new era of friendship and harmony, in the light of the decisions taken by Pakistan's President, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, and the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, at their meeting in Delhi last December.

SIMLA ACCORD

In a joint statement issued at the press conference, the two sides reiterated the resolve and abiding commitment of their governments to de-

velop tension-free and good neighbourly relations and commitment to the Simla agreement.

Mr. Bhandari said in reply to questions that the new comprehensive treaty being worked out might be an improvement on the Simla agreement.

However, behind the veneer of bonhomie and all-round goodwill, it was apparent that the two days of talks have failed to make substantial progress. Some of the ticklish issues have been left to a meeting of the joint commission to be held in March under the two foreign ministers.

According to well-informed observers, the latest Muslim League resolution on Kashmir has caused considerable embarrassment in Pakistani official circles.

In separate talks with this correspondent after the press conference, Mr. Niaz Naik pointed out that President Zia and other Pakistani leaders yesterday assured Mr. Bhandari there had been no change in the government's stand on the issue. He conceded that the Muslim League was the new ruling party but stressed that the government's position remained unchanged.

According to other Pakistani sources, the Indian side may have over-reacted to a political resolution of the new party, into which one should not read too much. They stress that it should not be allowed to affect the ongoing process of normalisation of relations.

However, the disconcerting fact is that the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammad Khan Junejo, presided over the meeting of his newly-formed ruling party which adopted the Kashmir resolution. Many observers fear that with

political parties coming into their own in Pakistan there may be some kind of a slideback. In this context, it is pointed out that President Zia had categorically said on December 17 last in Delhi that the Kashmir dispute would be resolved in its own time according to the Simla agreement.

On December 24 last the Pakistan foreign minister, Mr. Yaqub Khan, had reiterated in the national assembly that the dispute would be resolved according to the Simla agreement and the U.N. resolutions. About a month later, on January 17, the new ruling party had come out with a resolution stressing the U.N. resolution and virtually bypassing the Simla accord. Are these signals of a gradual slideback many, notably on the Indian side, ask.

Apart from this, the main hurdle to finalising a comprehensive treaty appears to be the question of foreign bases. Pakistan seems keen on keeping its options open, especially in view of the critical Afghan situation and the presence of Russian troops. Pakistan is prepared to assure India there would not be any territorial threat from its side in return for a similar assurance from India, but does not want to be tied down in a difficult international situation on the Afghan borders.

India is apparently reluctant to accept this position. Some independent observers tend to interpret India's reluctance in this regard as some kind of an accommodation to the Soviet Union, whose troops are entrenched in Afghanistan.

Whatever the validity of this interpretation, it may also be noted that a high-level American military mission has arrived in Pakistan.

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CSO: 4600/1441

ANALYST TELLS DELHI ATTITUDE ON POPE'S VISIT

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Jan 86 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 23.

The Government of India does not intend to raise the question of what is known as pre-notification during the Pope's visit next month although it was taken up with the Vatican as far back as 1976 in Mrs. Indira Gandhi's time.

In September, 1976, the External Affairs Ministry proposed, through the Apostolic Pro-Nuncio in Delhi, an exchange of letters on pre-notification, but a year later the Janata Government advised the Vatican to ignore the drafts sent to it.

Controversy over authority: The issue has been revived by some sections of opinion in the Government in the context of the Pope's visit, but it has been decided for all practical purposes at the highest political level not to press for an agreement at this stage in view of the current controversy over the nature and extent of the Holy See's authority over the Roman catholic church in India and its extra-territorial implications.

The Government, no doubt, agrees with the view of the critics that it is necessary to regulate this Papal authority through a proper agreement on pre-notification as so many other countries have with the Vatican without in anyway impairing their relations with it. But it would like to sign such an agreement in a less controversial atmosphere, instead of raising the issue during the Pope's visit.

If there is an agreement on pre-notification, the Vatican will be required to notify in advance and by implication obtain the prior approval of the Government, before appointing any Indian national as a Bishop in India from the panel of names submitted by the Papal Pro-Nuncio in Delhi.

At present all Roman catholic Bishops in India are appointed by the Vatican which has complete control over their postings, promotions and transfers without any obligation to consult the Government.

It is not the intention of the present Govern-

ment to make an issue of this demand for pre-notification, but evolve a mutually acceptable procedure for regulating these appointments. As the relations between India and the Vatican are exceptionally good, the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, would like to handle this delicate issue with greater sophistication to avoid the impression of denying the Holy See its due authority over the Roman catholic institutions here.

Wider controversy: The Government of India has been taking care to steer clear of involvement in the wider controversy over the Vatican's opposition to the theology of liberation in Latin America, while welcoming the Pope's sympathetic attitude to the aspirations of the third world societies irrespective of their religious denominations.

It is not without significance that the Vatican has been sending guest delegations to the non-aligned conferences. The Pope himself had addressed the U.N. General Assembly sessions strongly supporting the movements for national liberation and human rights, despite the Vatican's known reservations over the Latin American propagation of the theology of liberation.

The Pope, John Paul II, is arriving in India on February 1 on a 10-day state visit. Though he will be received by the President and the Prime Minister at the airport, he will drive separately since it is essentially a religious visit.

He will be staying with the Papal Pro-Nuncio but calling on the President and meeting the Vice-President and the Prime Minister at Rashtrapati Bhavan. He will not engage himself in any political discussions other than exchanging views on human problems.

There will be no state dinners in honour of the Pope, since it is not customary for him to attend official banquets. The programme for his visit to India has been drawn up by the Government in accordance with the Vatican's protocol and the Pope's own wishes to avoid state ceremonial and let him concentrate on the religious aspects to enable him to get his message of compassion across to the people.

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CSO: 4600/1440

GANDHI, DEFENSE MINISTER WITNESS NAVAL EXERCISES

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 17 Feb 86 p 9

[Text]

ON BOARD, INS VIKRANT,
February 16 (PTI):

THE Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, today cautioned that the Indian Ocean is still a troubled area with big power rivalries and quarrels not of our making.

Addressing sailors and officers of the navy, the Prime Minister said the navy has a much greater responsibility "as long as we don't have a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean."

Mr. Gandhi, accompanied by the Union ministers of state, Mr. Arun Singh and Mr. Sukh Ram, who spent nearly 24 hours on the only aircraft carrier in South-East Asia witnessing a series of thrilling naval exercises, commended the glorious service rendered by the flag ship during the last quarter of a century.

The Prime Minister who released a brochure and a commemorative postage stamp on the silver jubilee of the ship. He recalled that when the country won its independence it had a very small navy. He said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru took upon himself the task of building up the navy and in one and a half decades the strength of the navy increased by bounds.

"At that time, as now, we looked upon the world friendly eyes and without any design on any country. Unfortunately, we have been facing aggressions and threats of aggression

and we have to strengthen our naval forces to defend our independence and freedom," the Prime Minister said.

India's independence had been traditionally dependent on control over the seas. It was the lack of control over the seas which resulted in the country's colonisation and it coming under the British rule.

"Vikrant symbolises our blue water capability and our determination to defend our sovereignty and territorial integrity," Mr. Gandhi said.

He noted that though not much expansion of the navy had taken place in size since 1960, it had acquired the necessary pounce, because of the upgradation of the weaponry system and sophistication.

He also emphasised the role of the navy in safeguarding the country's economic zones. "With our economic interest, with resources lying hidden in the zone, the navy's responsibility has increased much more".

The chief of the naval staff, Admiral R. H. Tahlani, said that India will shortly acquire a newer generation of missile armed Sea Kings.

He said the recent addition of Sea Harriers carrying missiles had further strengthened Vikrant's capabilities.

In his message on the occasion, President Zail Singh said INS Vikrant had served gallantly in guarding our long coastline and enabled the navy to play its role in Indian waters.

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CSO: 4600/1463

ARTICLE DISCUSSES ACHIEVEMENTS IN DEFENSE R&D

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 7 Feb 86 p 26

[Article by V.S. Arunachalam]

[Text]

IF Prof. Blackett were alive today, he would be glad that he was wrong on the subject of defence research in India. Advising Prime Minister Nehru on setting up a defence science organisation, he recommended a 'non-competitive' approach and cautioned India against wasting herself on the development of major 'competitive weapons' for which she could not hope to organise the capabilities and infrastructure needed. Yet that is precisely the

course taken by the success story of defence research and development in India.

In fairness to him, it must be said that the learned Professor could not have anticipated in the late 1940's the powerful spur to the growth of defence research provided by the compulsions of national security during the 1960's and 1970's as well as the determination of the leadership to set the nation firmly on the path of self reliance in matters of strategic importance.

The achievements of the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) into which the earlier Defence Science Organisation transformed itself 25 years ago, in providing indigenous options to meet the multifarious requirements of the armed forces for arms and ammunition, communications and clothing, rockets and radars, simulators and sonars, depth charges and drones, have already made a significant impact. More important is the fact that these accomplishments and the painstaking creation of an R&D infrastructure where none existed before has created a spirit of self-confidence that now enables us to undertake the development of major futuristic weapon systems.

Tremendous Growth

This tremendous growth in capabilities from the initial phase of effecting modest improvements in the performance of imported systems by replacement of parts and substitution of imported components by indigenous alternatives to the present day programmes on the development of main battle tank, guided missiles and combat aircraft has not been easy or painless.

Resources allocation for Defence R&D has grown slowly — perhaps much too slowly relative to the escalation in the requirements of the armed forces for modern weapons. Even more difficult has been the creation of a cadre of scientific talent adequate in quality and quantity to the stupendous task of designing weapon systems employing frontline technologies.

There have been false starts and failures. Yet the achievements are there for all to see. The army, navy and the airforce today utilise many critical weapons and equipment designed and developed by DRDO. Necessarily some of the important contributions of DRDO will not be quite in the public domain.

Already, the cumulative value of production of the defence equipment developed by DRDO has exceeded Rs. 800 crores and will rise very steeply within the next few years with the introduction of some major systems the development of which has been completed within the last year or so.

Field Gun

Consider for example, the 105 mm Indian field gun or the Fin Stabilized Armour Piercing Discard Sabot (FSAPDS) ammunition developed indigenously. The field gun developed jointly by DRDO and Ordnance Factories has made the country entirely self-reliant in meeting the large quantity requirements of the Indian army for this class of weapon. The latter is an example of creation of technology in depth by the integration of efforts and resources of several agencies.

The FSAPDS ammunition developed by DRDO is to be produced in large scale by a factory being established jointly by the Department of Defence R&D as well as the Department of Defence Production to ensure efficient transfer of laboratory-scale technology to large-scale manufacture. In addition, the DRDO has also provided the stimulus and resources necessary to the mining industry in Rajasthan for the efficient exploitation of the tungsten mineral deposits for meeting the critical requirements of pure tungsten powder for the manufacture of this ammunition.

The development of the main battle tank, Arjun, which will be completed soon will be a landmark in the process of the coming of age of Defence Research in India. Several prototypes of Arjun are already undergoing extensive technical evaluation.

The mobility, fire power and immunity characteristics of Arjun will be equal to or better than any of the main battle tanks (MBTs) that will be in operational use in the world during the 1990's. It is important to note that unlike the USSR or the U.S., where such tanks are being developed as an evolution from several generations of existing designs, drawing upon the vast resources of industrial infrastructure available, we have had to develop Arjun practically from scratch depending almost entirely on the laboratories of the DRDO to produce the sophisticated designs and frontline design technologies. We are confident that Arjun will enter regular service well before the end of this decade and will indeed be a piece of pride both for the army and the defence research in India.

Other Example

There are many other significant examples of the contributions made by DRDO to the enhancement of the fighting capabilities of the army. A range of opto-electronic equipment - night vision goggles, binoculars and sights required by the tank crew, artillery observers and the infantry soldiers - employing second generation passive night vision technology has been developed. Regular manufacture of these equipment has already commenced.

An interesting feature of these manufacturing efforts is the association of a number of medium-scale high technology industries and entrepreneurs. To facilitate smooth transfer of technology the, developing laboratory itself runs a technology transfer centre which smooths out the initial problems faced by the industries in manufacturing processes, selection of equipment and materials, testing and quality assurance procedures etc.

It is evident that in the warfare of today, the electronic battle must be

won well before the war begins. In the field of radars, some of the significant achievements of DRDO are the recent development of a weapon locating radar and a low-level surveillance system. The Modal automatic electronic switch (AES) needed by the tactical communications network of the army also developed by DRDO, employs state-of-the-art digital electronic switching technology. The digital telephone exchange, TIDEX, developed by

DRDO is a pioneering contribution in the field of digital telecommunication technology in India and meets a crucial requirement of the army's communication system.

The requirements of the army are naturally growing in sophistication. Accordingly, the Department of Defence R&D is gearing up to develop major systems that will provide the advanced technological capabilities for the army of the 21st century. The emphasis will be on providing state-of-the-art, command, control, communications and intelligence (C³I) as well as early warning and surveillance capabilities. Remotely piloted vehicles, precision guided munitions, night vision thermal imaging sensors and electronic warfare, which are the force-multiplier systems of today and tomorrow will be in the forefront of the DRDO programmes. The Defence R&D is engaged in preparing a development plan that will be integrated into the army's plans for modernisation.

Growth Doctrines

It is inevitable that in an organisation like DRDO, engaged in high technologies which are racing ahead, the growth doctrines must be flexible and responsive to the challenges of the time. Accordingly, a plan for a rational distribution of responsibilities for defence technology generation among the various agencies within the ministry of defence is being formulated. This plan seeks to strengthen the workshops, dockyards and base repair depots of the services to enable them to undertake a variety of system improvement and modification functions.

Increasing emphasis will also be placed on improving the design and development capabilities of the production units for effecting product improvements and evolution of future generation of equipment already being manufactured. Such a strengthening of the technology base in the services and the defence production sector will enable the DRDO to concentrate more on activities leading to the original development of major systems and the generation of new concepts at the frontiers of technology.

The emergence of technology as a major factor in warfare is a trend that does not seem to be reversible. It is, however, essential in the national interest to ensure that the deployment of resources in defence technologies are not locked in entirely within the defence sector. It is one of the policy objectives of the De-

partment of Defence R&D to maximise the impact of defence technologies on national development by the stimulation of the industrial base in the country through sub-contracts and through the diffusion of quality consciousness. There are several instances in which the technology base created in the DRDO has been applied directly to major national science and technology projects in the space programme, atomic power generation and the Antarctica expeditions. There is no reason why such contributions cannot be extended to other nation-building activities in the future.

Through the collective skill, will and determination of the workers, the Defence Research and Development Organisation has dedicated itself to ensuring that the quality weapons and equipment provided to the Indian jawans will match his legendary courage, sense of duty and patriotism. Therein lies the true strength of our defence.

MR. V. S. ARUNACHALAM is scientific advisor to the defence minister, the first man of science to rise to this post through hard and distinctive work within the Defence Research and Development Organisation itself. For his meritorious services he has just been awarded a Padma Bhushan.

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CSO: 4600/1448

DEPARTING ARMY CHIEF DISCUSSES MODERNIZATION PROGRESS .

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 1 Feb 86 p 14

[Text]

NEW DELHI, January 31
(PTI).

THE Chief of the Army Staff, General A. S. Vaidya, today said Indian troops were firmly entrenched in the strategic Siachen glacier area and that "Pakistan would not be able to dislodge us."

The army chief, who was given a touching farewell by the top army brass outside his South Block office on retirement after 42 years of distinguished service, said: "The winter this year has been very severe in the area with the mercury plunging to an all-time low, but our men have not come down from the strategic passes providing access to the world's second largest glacier."

Gen. K. Sundarji, the new chief of the army staff, will take over from Gen. Vaidya tomorrow.

BOUND FOR PUNE

The army chief was given the last guard of honour by the riders of the 61st Cavalry. He later drove to Palam airport to take the farewell salute at an impressive parade and then took off for Pune where he intends to settle down.

A new modernisation drive had been launched in the army for the introduction of highly sophisticated electronic equipment, including computers, Gen. Vaidya said, adding that it was "progressing at a good rate." He said efforts were also under way to mechanise the infantry to make it more mobile for rapid and short-notice deployment.

The army chief told reporters that some of the main battle tanks being developed and produced indigenously would be introduced in the army by the end of this year.

Gen. Vaidya also said he had suggested to the government a complete change of rank badge structure for the army to differentiate it from police organisations. The army chief said he

expected the government to take a decision on this within a fortnight.

He said that it was a "healthy sign" that the army was once again attracting the best talents. He noted that the National Defence Academy had received hundreds more applications for admission than it could take this year.

Asked if he favoured the increasing use of the army to curb civil law and order problems, Gen. Vaidya said: "We are government servants and have to undertake any task assigned to us."

He asserted that the army was a fully disciplined force. Referring to the desertions in the wake of Operation Blue star, Gen. Vaidya said only a handful of Sikh units had revolted and a weakness in the command was to be blamed for this.

Gen. Vaidya said he was retiring with the satisfaction of having done his bit for one of the best fighting forces in the world. He said he would now devote his time to gardening, photography and music.

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CSO: 4600/1438

SOVIET VISITOR DISCUSSES INDO-SOVIET TRADE

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 18 Feb 86 p 10

[Text]

BOMBAY, February 17: The Soviet Union has embarked upon radical modernisation and upgradation of industrial technology, machine building and energetics for the next 15 years. Future Indo-Soviet trade will be closely linked with this development in the USSR as part of its new party programme and India's new five year plan and its stress on upgradation of technology. This was stated in Bombay today by Mr. Svecoslav A. Pavlov, head of the department of foreign trade ministry, USSR and head of the Market Research Institute.

He said that trade between the two countries has traversed a great path with mutual benefits. The future holds promise for export of jointly manufactured products in select areas. The Soviet Union was looking to widening its trade with the private sector in India. Soviet markets are now more quality conscious and competition will grow and, hence, simple exchange of goods will no longer do, he said. We are interested more in manufactured goods and less in raw materials or semi-finished goods, he added.

He acknowledged that there existed an information gap between Soviet trade organisations and Indian parties, and assured that the present changes being effected in his country were also aimed at bringing about an improvement in procedures and the bureaucracy. Like many western

countries, Indian industry should also buy Soviet licences for sophisticated products and offer the products, he said. He urged Indian businessmen, to keep world prices in mind while selling to the Soviet Union. Declining prices for Indian items is due to this, he pointed out.

Mr. Pavlov, who was speaking at a meeting with the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and Industry on Indo-Soviet trade and developments in the Soviet Union, said maximum scope existed for joint co-operation in machine building between the two countries as well as in the coal industry and its machinery. He said the Soviet Union was in the process of raising the technical level of production by modifying its investment and structural policy. In its 12th five year plan it will speed up its scientific and technical progress and creative production potential. It will introduce fundamentally new technologies, reduce consumption of materials, use new materials, integrate production systems and link effectively, research to production, he added.

Developments in the Soviet Union of new technologies will benefit India which is also in the process of using newer technologies, he said. He disclosed that new technology areas as the use of genetics and bio-engineering in farming and computerised automation in most fields. These will also be incorporated in the five year plans of all the CMEA countries.

Output of computers including personal computers will go up by 1100 per cent in the next 15 years in the Soviet Union. Apart from quantum jumps in nuclear power engineering, there will be big power units of fast breeder reactors, large gas-based power turbines and use of new products in power engineering. The USSR has also planned to improve production time twice or thrice over the existing levels by use of computer aided designs, microprocessors and robot controlled systems. Modernisation will also be effected in electrical engineering and instrumentation to improve efficiency and reliability. Metal powders and new plastics will be increasingly used and new technology developed for oil and gas prospecting and for wood and pulp.

Earlier, Mr. Ashok Garware, the Chamber president, in his address, said the Indian private sector would go in for Soviet equipment if found suitable in price and sophistication. He suggested the setting up of projects in third countries. Private sector imports from the Soviet Union account for only 10 per cent of total imports from the Soviet Union, and Indian businessmen should keep in mind that American industrialists have purchased more than 125 licences from the USSR in diverse fields and more than 25 industrialised countries have purchased Soviet licences for their industries, he said.

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CSO: 4600/1466

PAPERS REPORT ESTABLISHMENT OF SCIENTIFIC COUNCIL

Replaces Cabinet Committee

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 5 Feb 86 p 4

[Text]

New Delhi, Feb. 4 (PTI, UNI): The government today abolished the scientific advisory committee to the Cabinet (SACC) and replaced it by an eight-member science advisory council (SAC) to the Prime Minister.

The new council will be headed by Prof. C.N.R. Rao, director of the Indian Institute of Sciences, Bangalore, and president of the Indian National Science Academy.

An official spokesman said Prof. M.G.K. Menon, who was appointed scientific adviser to the Prime Minister yesterday, will coordinate the work of SAC.

The six other members are

individual scientists, two of them from the private sector, as against the 22 members of the SACC who were mostly secretaries to the government.

The SACC, which was set up by Mrs Indira Gandhi in 1982 and whose term ended in June, 1985, had held only one meeting since Mr Rajiv Gandhi became Prime Minister.

The council, whose initial term will be two years, will advise the Prime Minister on major issues concerning science and technology, the health of science and technology in the country and the direction it should take. It will also draw up a perspective plan for the year 2001. The council will go into specific problems pertaining

policy and fix priorities to be assigned for research and technology.

Other members of the council are: Prof. J.V. Narlikar of the astrophysics department, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, Dr. P.N. Tandon of the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi, Prof. R. Narasimha, Director, National Aeronautics Laboratory, Bangalore, Dr A.S. Ganguly, chairman of Hindustan Lever, Bombay, Dr Sekhar Raha, Indian Explosives Limited (crop protection, pharmaceuticals and ore), Madras, and Prof. Madhav Gadgil, Centre for Theoretical Studies, Indian Institute of Sciences, Bangalore.

Further Details

Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Feb 86 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Feb. 4: A seven-member Science Advisory Council, headed by Prof. C. N. R. Rao, Director of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, has been constituted for two years to advise the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, on matters relating to scientific development in different spheres.

According to an official announcement, the council will advise the Prime Minister on major issues pertaining to science

and technology, besides drawing up a perspective plan to regulate scientific research and development during the next 15 years.

The Council will also go into specific problems pertaining to policies and priorities to be assigned for research and technological projects. The broad terms of reference that are being framed will

enable the Council to display the necessary initiative in making available the best available advice to the Government on a wide spectrum of scientific subjects.

A research scholar in chemistry, Prof. C. N. R. Rao is also a Fellow of the Royal Society (FRS) which is a great distinction. The other six members of the Council who are equally distinguished in their respective spheres are: Dr. J. V. Narlikar, Professor of Astro-Physics, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay; Dr. P. N. Tandon, neuro-surgeon at the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, Delhi; Prof. R. Narasimha, mathematician and Director of the National Aeronautical Laboratory, Bangalore; Dr. A. S. Ganguly, Chairman of Hindustan Lever, Bombay; Dr. Sekhar Raha an expert on crop protection, pharmaceuticals and ores working with the Indian Explosives Ltd. in Madras, and Prof. Madhav Gadgil, who works at the Centre for Theoretical Studies at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

Dr. V. Siddhartha, who is serving in the Defence Science Organisation, will be the secretary of the new Council which replaces the earlier one headed by Prof. M. G. K. Menon appointed in Mrs. Gandhi's time.

There is no indication yet as to what kind of working relationship will be evolved for associating Prof. Menon, who has been appointed Scientific Adviser to the Prime Minister, with the functioning of this Science Advisory Council to avoid duplication of responsibility and ensure greater unanimity in the advice rendered to the Government.

/9317

CSO: 4600/1445

PRICES OF PETROLEUM PRODUCTS REDUCED UNDER PRESSURE

Analyst Notes Policy Reversal

Madras THE HINDU in English 6 Feb 86 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, Feb 5--The Government, in a sudden reversal of the sharp increases announced last Friday in the prices of petroleum products, today announced some modest reductions in what was described as a "true democratic spirit," to mollify outraged public opinion against these unjustified hikes which were going to have a cascading effect on the general price situation.

The decreases announced tonight were Rs 100 a kilolitre on petrol, Rs 72 a kilolitre on high speed diesel oil, Rs 280 a tonne on LPG for domestic consumption and Rs 90 a kilolitre of kerosene. They became effective from midnight.

These reductions were made on the increases last week in the prices of petrol by Rs 500 a kilolitre, Rs 180 a kilolitre in the case of diesel, Rs 700 a tonne of LPG, Rs 225 a kilolitre of kerosene and Rs 500 a kilolitre of aviation turbine fuel for use by domestic airlines.

New Cost Structure

As a result of today's reductions, petrol will now cost in Delhi Rs 7.43 a litre against Rs 7.54 announced last week, diesel Rs 3.50 a litre against Rs 3.58, kerosene Rs 2.25 a litre against Rs 2.34 and cooking gas Rs 57.62 a cylinder against Rs 61.79 according to an official announcement tonight. The retail prices are exclusive of sales tax and other local levies applicable to each item.

There has, however, been no reduction in the price of aviation turbine fuel which will continue to be sold at the recently increased rate.

The excuse given for the bigger hikes in the prices of petroleum products announced in the last budget was that, despite the steady fall in the dollar prices of crude, India had to pay more for its oil imports because the rupee value of the dollar had gone up considerably, imposing an addi-

tional burden on the country's balance of payments. But this time this apologia was set aside and the new increases were sought to be justified on the ground that the increasing consumption of petroleum products needed to be curtailed to reduce the drain on foreign exchange reserves.

As the increases in the last budget were matched by other tax concessions, there was no public outcry. The Government seems to have grossly misjudged the public mood in hiking the prices of petroleum products at a time when world prices of crude are tumbling.

While announcing the reductions tonight, the Finance Minister, Mr V.P. Singh made no bones about the fact that, apart from curbing the growth of consumption, these steep increases were intended to enable the Government to mobilise additional resources for the Seventh Plan. No such claim was made on Friday last when the Government announced the price increases, stepping up the retail price of petrol in Delhi from Rs 7 to Rs 7.54, diesel from Rs 3.39 to Rs 3.58, kerosene from Rs 2.11 to Rs 2.34 and cooking gas from Rs 51.35 to Rs 61.79 a cylinder.

There was widespread indignation from all sections of society since the increases came in the wake of similar hikes in the so-called administered prices of rice and wheat, edible oils, fertilizers and coal, which were already producing a chain reaction. But in the case of rice and wheat, a part of the increase went to the farmers hard hit by the rise in prices of other commodities of mass consumption while the increases in edible oil and fertilizer prices were partly brought about by the policy of gradually reducing or abolishing the subsidies keeping the prices artificially down.

However, what was astonishing was the Government's attempt to pose as one that not only works faster, but also responds quicker to public criticism. The Finance Minister said: "I have carefully studied public reaction to the recent increases in petroleum prices. The Congress (I) has been in the forefront in articulating the people's sentiments."

Opposition Infuriated

This attempt to put a political gloss on a policy reversal under duress has infuriated the Opposition parties which were hoping to derive some advantage by threatening a countrywide agitation. Congress (I) members themselves seemed perplexed by the statements issued by Mr Kamlapati Tripathi, Mr H.K.L. Bhagat and others yesterday, deploring the increases and making suitable reductions.

What was even more astonishing was the attempt being made tonight to give the impression that the Government had decided to bow to the wishes of the Congress (I) Working Committee which met at short notice, before the Prime Minister called a meeting of the Cabinet, to approve the proposed reductions. It was not clear who actually stage-managed this command performance, whether Mr Rajiv Gandhi himself approved of this new strategy to project the party in this role to explain away the volte face on the part of the Government.

PTI reports:

Stating that the "Government is never out of line with the real interests of the broad masses, particularly the weaker section of our society," the Finance Minister, however, sounded a note of caution saying the moderation in the price hike does not mean that the Government is moving away from a broadbased strategy for energy consumption.

"This is a time for austerity," Mr Singh said. "Development and economic independence for the country are precious and the Government will ensure that petroleum imports are restrained to ensure balance of payment viability and reduce substantially the import of edible oils."

Editorial Scores Gandhi Style

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 6 Feb 86 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

We do not know what persuaded the Union government to decide on a sudden, sharp and wholly unjustified hike in the prices of petroleum products last week. We also do not know who took the initiative — Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the whiz-kids around him or finance minister V. P. Singh and his advisers. But it is obvious that a decision of this importance for the economy and of explosive potentiality for the future of the Congress party at least in the short run must have had the consent of the Prime Minister. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi cannot avoid this responsibility.

We also do not know the origin of the protest against this price increase by senior Congressmen, including the party's working president, Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi, a Union cabinet minister, Mr. H. K. L Bhagat, and some PCC chiefs. It is possible that it reflects an intra-party tussle. Indeed, it does look that the protest has been coordinated by someone; so many PCC chiefs could not have been present in New Delhi by sheer accident. But we are in no position to confirm the fact of such a coordination. So we do not wish to comment on it. Meanwhile it is obvious that the matter was not discussed by the Union council of ministers; otherwise Mr. Bhagat could not in fairness have voiced his opposition to the hike in public. This is a comment on the manner in which the government functions. The cabinet exists only in name. Vital decisions are taken elsewhere.

Once again Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has sought to tide over the problem in a manner that appears to be characteristic of him. The Congress working committee met in the morning (Wednesday, February 5) under his own chairmanship and demanded that the decision to raise the prices of petroleum products be reviewed. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first occasion since independence when the Congress working committee has so censured its own party government at the Centre and when the same individual as Congress president has so censured himself as prime minister. The Union cabinet met later in the

afternoon to consider the working committee's resolution and decided to reduce the increase. Ultra-sensitive to his self-image as the country's most upright and principled politician, Mr. V. P. Singh may resign; he should, if only to save the Prime Minister's face. But that is in the future.

It will be wrong to treat the protest over the increase in the prices of petroleum products and the subsequent developments as an isolated phenomenon which will soon be forgotten. It has to be viewed in the wider context of developments in the past one year. To begin with, we should note that Congressmen are nothing if not survivors and that, among the country's political class, they possess the most highly developed instinct for self-preservation. So as the leadership headed by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in his dual capacity as Prime Minister and party president pursued a course of action (such as the conclusion of the so-called accords in Punjab and Assam) which threatened the very existence of the party, as in those states, resentment was bound to build up. It did. Congressmen in the two states and the adjoining ones exposed to the fall-out of the misconceived agreements gave expression to their bitterness even if largely in private. The deals also illustrated one of the worst features of an undue concentration of power in one individual who is new to politics, or a small group of similar persons around him. The Congress leaders in Punjab and Assam were not consulted, though their own and the party's future were at stake.

But Punjab and Assam, despite their large implications, were essentially parochial issues of interest primarily to the people in those and adjoining states. They could not arouse deep enough concern among Congressmen as a collective body. This limitation did not apply to economic policy. Thus, as it began to be formulated and expounded in terms which appeared to mark a radical departure from the Nehru-Indira approach, it sent shock waves in the entire organisation. The feeling of dismay found expression at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee (AICC) in Delhi last May. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and his very upper crust team of hand-picked advisers with no roots in the Congress party and culture were taken utterly by surprise. They quickly jettisoned the original draft of the economic policy resolution and prepared an altogether new one paying obeisance to the old approach. They suddenly rediscovered the socialist rhetoric, though, of course, they had nothing but the utmost contempt for it. They coped with the immediate problem but they did not draw any long-term lessons from it.

The episode underlined three points. First, that Congressmen are not as malleable as they look to those who do not know them and their history. Second, that despite their seeming supineness and willingness to kow-tow to the leader, they have a way of making themselves felt at an appropriate occasion. Thirdly, in order to be effective in the

long run, the leader must keep his hand on the pulse of the party. This, of course, is just not possible unless he meets a lot of Congressmen which Mr. Rajiv Gandhi does not. Even his key aides are accessible only to the specially favoured ones. As for Mr. Gandhi himself the impression has spread that, except for some select ones who constitute his inner cabinet, even ministers do not find it easy to meet him, and discuss matters of concern to them with him.

Finally, even before the party's centenary celebrations in Bombay it looked as if he tended to treat the party as a dumb driven mass. But the fact was not established. It was in Bombay. This was an occasion when Mr. Gandhi could have legitimately boasted of his party's genuinely proud record in the struggle for freedom and consolidation of that freedom and spoken of its possible role in coming years in taking the country into the 21st century. Instead, he poured ridicule on Congressmen. It was an extraordinary performance and spoke of the gulf that had come to divide the party ranks and the leader. Inevitably, it produced deep and widespread resentment. Equally inevitably, the leader has not taken steps to reduce the great divide, not to speak of moves to bridge it. This is the framework in which the latest developments have taken place.

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CSO: 4600/1447

INDIA, USSR SIGN PROTOCOL ON OIL EXPLORATION

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 4 Feb 86 p 2

[Text]

India and the Soviet Union on Monday signed a protocol which provides for intensive integrated exploration by Soviet experts in areas in the Cambay and Cauvery basins, reports UNI.

The protocol follows the conclusion of their meeting of the Indo-Soviet working group on the oil industry on Monday.

The Soviet delegation was led by Mr V M Yudin, Soviet Deputy Minister for Oil who was in India from 27 January last in connection with the meetings of the working group. The Indian delegation was led by petroleum secretary G V Ramakrishna.

The sites on the Cambay and Cauvery basins were finalised on the basis of inter-governmental agreement between the two countries signed in May 1985.

In the Cambay basin, the Soviet team would carry out exploration in 5100 sq. km. of area in Patan, Tharad and Sanchor depressions.

In the Cauvery basin, the area would be 3100 sq. km. in the Ariyalur Pondicherry depression

and Kumbakonam Madanam ridge.

The exploration work is expected to start in the second quarter of this year and 70 per cent of the cost of this turnkey project in the two basins will be covered by the Soviet Union through rouble credit.

Regarding workover the sick wells in the Cambay basins where oil is being produced, it was agreed that activities will be stepped up to increase the recovery of oil.

The working group also reviewed the progress in technical assistance by way of deputation of Soviet specialists and training of Indian personnel in the Soviet Union. The group also reviewed the work carried out by the Soviet side in the eastern region.

Earlier, the visiting Soviet deputy minister called on Petroleum Minister Chandra Shekhar Singh and expressed the Soviet keenness to take up work in the Cambay and Cauvery basins as early as possible. He also said that the task the workover of sick wells will be accelerated.

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CSO: 4600/1444

INDIA

BRIEFS

NEW POLITICAL PARTY--Yet another political party, the Jatiya Swarajya Dal, has been formed with Mr Bimalananda Shasmal as president and Mr Harihar Misra as general secretary. It has called upon the youths to rise above party politics, fight corruption, curb violence and work for "the greater good of all people." [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 4 Feb 86 p 3] /9317

FRG, SPAIN CULTURAL PACTS--New Delhi, Jan 31--India today signed two separate cultural agreements with the Federal Republic of Germany and Spain. Both the agreements were signed by Mr Y.N. Chaturvedi, joint secretary, Ministry of Human Resources Development, on behalf of India and Dr E. Eighkoff, ministerial director of Foreign Cultural Affairs, Directorate-General of the Federal Foreign Office, on behalf of the FRG, and Mr Charles Barcena Portdes, on behalf of Spain. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 1 Feb 86 p 12] /9317

CPI-ML CRITICISM--Mr S.R. Bhaiji, general secretary, central committee of the CPI(ML), criticized in a statement, the NTR Government of Andhra Pradesh for arresting its president and two central committee leaders, Mr Sadhan Sarkar and Mr Moni Chakraborty. It demanded removal of all the restrictions imposed on mass organizations by the Government in Andhra Pradesh. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 1 Feb 86 p 3] /9317

INDO-CZECH TAX AGREEMENT--New Delhi, Jan 27--India and Czechoslovakia today signed an agreement to avoid double taxation and prevent evasion of income tax between the two countries. It was signed by the Finance Minister, Mr Vishwanath Pratap Singh, and the Czechoslovak Finance Minister, Mr Ing Jarmir Zak. The agreement provides for complete exemption from taxation in respect of income from operation of aircraft by the airlines of one country in the other, and enunciates a combination of the exemption and credit methods for elimination of double taxation. It comes into force after the two countries notify each other about the completion of procedure required by law in the respective countries for bringing it into force. It will, however, be effective in India in respect of income arising in any accounting year beginning on or after April 1, 1985 and in Czechoslovakia in respect of income arising on any accounting year beginning on or after January 1, 1985. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 28 Jan 86 p 9] /9317

CONGRESS-I JOINT SECRETARIES--New Delhi, Jan 23--The Congress (I) president, Mr Rajiv Gandhi has appointed eight new joint secretaries for the Congress (I), reports UNI. Three of them are women. According to Mr Arjun Singh, Congress (I) vice-president, except for Mr D.P. Ray, the joint secretaries will work with the general secretaries. Mr Ray will independently look after cadre building and party conventions. The new joint secretaries are: Mr C.D. Patel, Mr Vilas Muttemwar, Mr K.V. Panickar, Mrs Amarjit Kaur, Mr Meijinlung Kamson, Mrs Chandresh Kumari, Mr D.P. Ray and Miss D.K. Thara Devi. While Mr Patel and Mr Muttemwar will help the general secretaries, Mr G.K. Moopanar and Mr A.K. Antony, respectively, Mr Panickar and Mrs Kaur will help Mr Bhagwat Jha Azad and Mr Naval Kishore Sharma. The general secretary, Mr Ram Dhal will be assisted by Mr Kamson while Miss Thara Devi will work with Mr T. Anjiah. Mrs Chandresh Kumari has been assigned to assist the party spokesman, Mrs Najma Heptullah. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 24 Jan 86 p 9] /9317

CPI-M SECRETARIAT--Calcutta, Jan 27--The strength of the 15-member secretariat of the state CPI(M) has been reduced to 10 by dropping five senior members, it is reliably learnt today. The new secretariat was elected at the three-day meeting of the party's state committee which ended here today. Those who have been reportedly dropped are Mr Krishnapada Ghosh, Mr Sudhanshu Dasgupta, Mr Lakshmi Sen, Mr Naresh Dasgupta and Mr Gopal Bose. The names of the new secretariat members are likely to be announced by the party's state secretary, Mr Saroj Mukherjee, at a press conference tomorrow. The reduction in the secretariat was unexpected in view of the increase in the strength of the party's state committee which was elected by the delegates at the CPI(M)'s state conference at Tollygunge in the last week of November. According to sources, it was initially planned to increase the strength of the secretariat from 15 to 19 by inducting some new persons as was done while electing the state committee, which, according to Mr Mukherjee, comprises members whose average age is below 40 years. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 28 Jan 86 p 1] /9317

RAJASTHAN HARVEST EXPECTATIONS--Jaipur, Jan 20--The severe drought in Rajasthan has not only decreased the area under kharif crop but also resulted in a substantial fall in the agricultural production and mass exodus of cattle. Governor Vasant Rao Patil addressing the members of the Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha on the first day of the session here today expressed his pleasure over the fact that the State stood third in the country in implementing the 20-point programme. During the current financial year, he said, the State was second in the country in implementing the programme till November last. Against a kharif sowing target of 122 lakh hectares, only 109 lakh hectares could be sown. Due to scanty rains, the kharif production will go down considerably. Compared to 1984-85, the foodgrain production is estimated to be 38.73 percent, while oilseeds would remain only 50 percent. Besides, the production of other crops is likely to be only 64.86 percent. On account of little rainfall in October last, the rabi area would be about 55.5 lakh hectares, the Governor said. To increase production, high yield varieties were sown in about 27 lakh hectares during 1985-86.

Despite the drought, about 71,000 tonnes of fertiliser was distributed during the kharif season, an increase over the previous year. Additional irrigation facilities are likely to be created this year with the help of the Indira Gandhi Canal, Mr Patil told the members. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 21 Jan 86 p 6] /9317

GULF WAR OPERATIONS, KUWAIT'S ATTITUDES ANALYZED

London MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC REVIEW/THE MIDDLE EAST BUSINESS WEEKLY in English
22 Feb 86 pp 6-7

[Article by David Butter]

[Text] THE initial success of Iran's latest offensive has dealt a heavy psychological blow to both Iraq and the Arab Gulf states. Whether this blow will be translated into a lasting gain for Tehran will depend on Iran's ability to withstand Iraqi counter attacks and keep hold of the stretch of Iraq's Gulf coast occupied in early February. Baghdad's first task will be to push the Iranian attackers back out of range of the main road linking Iraq to Kuwait; ultimately, the Iraqis are determined to drive the Iranian forces off the Fao peninsula altogether.

The 9 February thrust across the Shatt al-Arab took the Iraqis by surprise — it also succeeded in avoiding the surveillance of US satellites. The Iranians say lightly armed divers were used to cross the Shatt al-Arab; the Iraqi defenders were quickly overrun and the stormy weather conditions allowed Iran to ferry the bulk of its invasion force onto the Fao peninsula without being attacked from the air.

Satellite pictures were said to show that Iran was also massing troops for a larger-scale assault across the marshes north of Basra. But, given the trouble Iran took to evade the satellites' gaze in the Fao attack, it seems likely that the troop concentrations further north are designed as a warning to Iraq not to divert forces from this part of the front to reinforce the counter-attacks around Fao. Iran may be obliged to open a second front north of Basra if the invasion force in the south looks in danger of being overrun.

Iran said its attack was designed to punish Iraq — to show the Iraqi people,

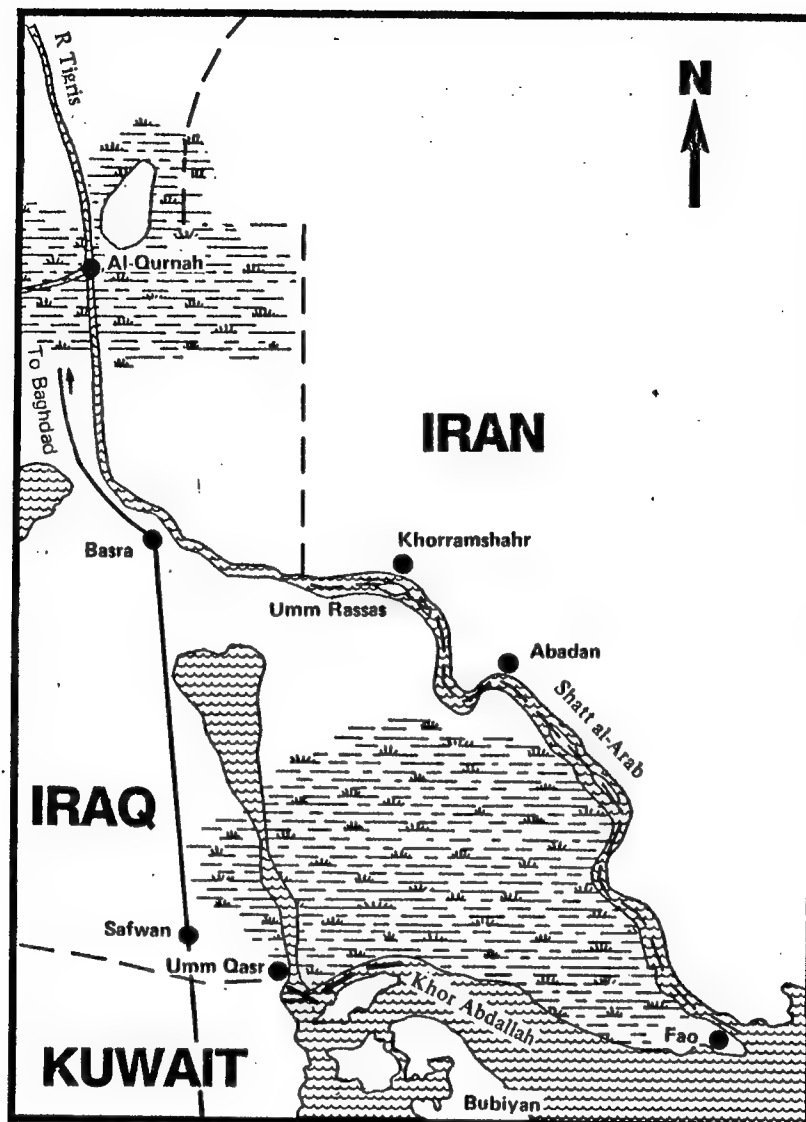
the Arab Gulf states and the international community that they should accept Iran's conditions for ending the five-year-old conflict. These conditions are a clear international statement naming Iraq as the aggressor, and demands for war reparations and the removal of President Saddam Hussain.

Since driving most Iraqi troops off Iranian soil in 1982, Tehran has launched several offensives with the hope of scoring the decisive breakthrough that would enable it to press for peace on its terms.

Iraq has repeatedly shown its ability to absorb these attacks. In addition, it has in the past year made more effective use of its superior air force in attacking Iranian cities and putting pressure on Iran's oil exports. But on 17 February, Iran said its forces had captured an electronic control post, north of Fao, used to direct Iraqi air strikes on tankers serving the Kharg island oil export terminal.

Baghdad's ability to disrupt merchant shipping using Iranian ports has also been affected by the Iranian advances along the south coast of the Fao peninsula towards Iraq's main naval base at Umm Qasr. If Iran manages to consolidate its hold on the peninsula, the Iraqi navy will be faced with the option of making a run for the open sea or remaining bottled up in port.

Of equal concern to the Iraqis is the fact that the Iranian invasion force has advanced to within artillery range of the main road from Kuwait. The Iraqi border town of Safwan was reported to have come under heavy artillery bombardment.



Ten days after capturing Fao, Iranian forces were pressing towards Umm Qasr and north along the Shatt al-Arab. Iraq managed to slow the Iranian advance, but Iran had secured its supply lines to the occupation force. Heavy Iranian troop concentrations were also reported east of Al-Qurnah.

Continued Iranian pressure on the road would leave Iraq dependent on routes through Jordan and Turkey for all supplies entering the country overland.

Gulf states reassured

Iran has made efforts to reassure Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Iraq's other Gulf neighbours that it has no direct quarrel with them, but that they should realise that their continued support of Saddam Hussain is having destructive consequences for the region. Iran believes

much of Iraq's military equipment is brought in through Kuwait. Tehran has also been irritated by the continued financial and political support Iraq has received from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the other Gulf states.

The Gulf states have reacted to the Iranian offensive by closing ranks in a diplomatic campaign aimed in particular at Syria, Tehran's principal ally in the Arab world. The Saudi and Kuwaiti foreign affairs ministers, Prince Saud al-Faisal and Shaikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-

Jaber al-Sabah, went to Damascus on 16 February in an effort to enlist Syria's help in persuading Iran to halt its offensive.

Syria's support for Iran has so far involved the 1982 closure of the pipeline from Iraq to the Mediterranean and the reported supply of weapons, spare parts and medical equipment to help the Iranian war effort. In return, Iran has agreed to provide Damascus with 6 million tonnes of crude oil a year, including 1 million tonnes as an annual gift.

In recent months, relations between Damascus and Tehran have soured. The shipments of Iranian crude have slowed down because of Syrian payments arrears and increased Iraqi pressure on Kharg. Tehran has also been critical of Syria's rapprochement with Jordan.

The aid lever

The Gulf states have an additional means of putting pressure on Syria — aid. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are committed to giving the bulk of the \$1,850 million in annual aid to Syria pledged at the 1979

Baghdad summit. They have yet to use this aid as a lever to stop Syria's support for Iran. But if Iranian forces began to pose a direct threat to Kuwait, Syria might come under heavier pressure from its Arab backers to break relations with Iran — unless Tehran agrees to negotiate a peace settlement with Saddam Hussain.

The latest Iranian offensive has shown that Iran has the will and ability to punch through Iraq's formidable defences. But it still appears to lack the power to sustain the momentum of its attacks.

Neither side has been able to obtain a clear-cut military victory — Iran's advantage in troop numbers and its more daring tactics have been cancelled out by Iraq's superior firepower and defence capabilities. As the war drags on, the opposing regimes have, if anything, become more stable and entrenched in their irreconcilable views on how to resolve the conflict. Both sides have shown they are prepared to endure indefinitely the war's colossal human and economic cost.

/13104

CSO: 4600/236

PAPER REPORTS ON FAILURE OF KORNIYENKO EFFORTS TO END WAR

GF071516 Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 6 Mar 86 pp 1, 21

[Excerpt] Paris--Soviet-Iranian relations did not actually improve as a result of the visit to Tehran by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Korniyenko although the visit led to an understanding over the coordination of some aspects of economic and oil cooperation between the two countries.

The Soviet leadership had hoped that he would succeed, where others had failed, in persuading Iranian leaders to end hostilities and accept the principle of negotiations. However, Korniyenko's mission in this regard failed. In the latest period two noteworthy things have taken place on the level of relations between Tehran and Moscow: First, the USSR has officially protested to the Iranian Government because it secretly sent Iranian missions to Afghanistan with the aim of establishing a unified front for the Afghan Mujahidin which will act and move under Tehran's supervision, and with its support and financing, against Soviet forces in that country.

Second, the USSR leadership permitted the new leader of the Tudeh party--the defunct Iranian Communist Party--to take the platform at the 27th CPSU Congress and to make public statements denouncing Iran's insistence on continuing the war. The new leader of the Tudeh party is 'Ali (Huwari), who previously had not appeared at any public forums. (Huwari's) appearance reflects the reorganization of the Iranian communist party following the arrest of its former leader Nureddin Kiyanuri and a number of its leading officials in 1983 on the charge of conspiring against the Iranian revolution. (Huwari's) public appearance in Moscow reflects the desire of Iranian communists, and perhaps that of the USSR, to reactivate the party inside Iran.

/12858

CSO: 4604/28

IRAN

CONTROVERSY OVER SADDAM'S FATE REPORTED BY ARAB MEDIA

GF041340 Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 3 Mar 86 p 1

[Political Editor's report]

[Text] The GCC countries have learned that Iran has practically abandoned its old condition concerning the Iraqi regime--which was rejected on the national, pan-Arab, and international levels--to end the war. However, Iran continues to insist on the condition of compensation of \$50 billion.

This was affirmed to AL-SIYASAH by Arab diplomatic sources commenting on Algerian Foreign Minister Dr Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi's current tour of a number of the region's countries.

The sources stated that the Algerian minister has expressed his conviction that, since Iran has become convinced that no one will even listen to its old condition, which has been rejected and which deals with the fate of the Iraqi regime, the only condition left for Iran to stop the war and to enter into negotiations is the financial condition. At the beginning, Iran demanded compensation of \$150 billion, but it gradually went down to \$50 billion. During its previous mediation tours, Algeria presented the conditions, but the mediation always failed.

The sources stated that during his recent and current tours of the region, the Algerian minister touched upon the issue of mediation in two phases. The first phase is to achieve three goals--to refrain from expanding the war, to safeguard the security of the international routes, and to refrain from attacking civilian targets in both warring countries. The second phase would begin after the implementation of the regional and international agreement on establishing an international fund for reconstruction with capital of \$50 billion. The sources believe that this issue is currently the subject of intensified contacts on various regional and international levels.

/12858

CSO: 4604/29

IRAN

MORE ON CONTROVERSY OVER SADDAM'S FATE

GF041352 Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 4 Mar 86 pp 1, 17

[Text] Tehran, Kuwait, agencies--Iran immediately denied Kuwaiti press reports yesterday that Iran has abandoned its call to topple the Iraqi Government as a condition to conduct peace negotiations to end the Gulf War.

Kuwaiti paper AL-SIYASAH yesterday quoted diplomatic sources as saying that Iran has reduced its conditions to end the war and abandoned its condition of toppling the Iraqi Government led by President Saddam Husayn. The newspaper said that the GCC states have been officially informed that Iran has abandoned this condition, and that Iran has reduced its call for compensation of \$200 billion to only \$50 billion. The newspaper added that Algerian Foreign Minister Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi would present a two-phase settlement project which stipulates the following: 1) The need to not extend the war to the neighboring countries, to provide safety for navigation in the Gulf, and to stop the attacks against civilian targets; 2) to establish a development fund with capital of \$50 billion to be allocated to Iran.

The paper stated that the establishment of such a fund is currently being discussed at high regional and international levels.

An Iranian official spokesman immediately denied the reports, adding that the three conditions to end the war still hold. They are: the toppling of the Iraqi Government, compensation of \$200 billion, and a return to the international border.

/12858

CSO: 4604/29

IRAN

VOICE OF LIBERATION ON DIFFERENCES IN HIERARCHY

GF211807 (Clandestine) Voice of the Liberation of Iran in Persian 1630 GMT
21 Feb 86

[Text] At a time when the Islamic Republic of Iran is striving to capitalize on the way raging at the fronts--to the maximum and for propagandistic purposes--public opinion within the country is facing a grave dilemma in the regime's leadership which stems from differences among the higher echelons of Khomeyni's government. According to one of the correspondents of the Voice of the Liberation of Iran in Tehran, the clash of wills and differences among most of the members of the Guardians' Council and the Islamic Majlis culminated in a walkout by some members on Saturday, 8 February, in a fit of anger; they presented their resignations to Khomeyni.

Our correspondent adds: Khomeyni refused to accept the resignations and requested they remain in office until next Farvardin [21 March-20 April] and to refrain from expressing their opposition to bills debated in the Majlis.

The real cause of these wrangles and differences has not transpired. However, political observers in the capital are of the opinion that the root cause of the resentment of most of the Majlis members is the modus operandi for the approval of Hoseyn 'Ali Montazeri as Khomeyni's successor. It is also said that some of the Guardian's Council members have stepped up their interference in the matters pertaining to the regime's war with Iraq more than ever, which has roused the indignation of the Islamic Majlis deputies in Tehran.

/6662

CSO: 4640/216

PERIODICAL DISCUSSES PAYMENTS TO U.S. COMPANIES, BUDGET CUTS

London MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC REVIEW/THE MIDDLE EAST BUSINESS WEEKLY in English
22 Feb 86 pp 15-17

[Text] The government has authorised the transfer of \$ 100 million to replenish an escrow account in The Hague used to settle payments to US companies. Instructions for the transfer were sent to the Dutch capital in mid-February, according to a senior Iranian official based there.

The Iranian payment was welcomed as "excellent news" by US officials. They had been waiting to see what Iran would do after its late-January payment of \$ 115 million to *Chevron Oil Corporation* reduced the escrow account to \$ 485 million (MEED 18:1:86). The January 1981 Algiers hostage agreement which set up the \$ 1,000 million escrow account — obliges Iran to keep the account from dropping below \$ 500 million.

The \$ 100 million is being transferred from a separate account set up in May 1982 to handle interest accruing on Iran's funds in the main escrow account. US officials had earlier said they wanted the escrow account to be replenished with fresh money, but now stress they will do "everything possible to facilitate the banking transfer."

The interest account still holds \$ 400 million, bringing total Iranian funds at the disposal of the special tribunal to \$ 985 million. The funds are held by the Dutch central bank.

The Iranian official at The Hague said his country was meeting all its obligations according to the Algiers agreement, and hoped the US would do likewise. "We look for fairness and justice," he added. He described the atmosphere at the tribunal as satisfactory, and an improvement on the open hostility of earlier years.

The tribunal deals with US claims arising from the February 1979 revolution and with Iranian counter-claims. In the *Chevron* case, the US oil company has had to pay Iran \$ 175 million for crude oil bought but not paid for. There have been other, smaller payments made to Iran in previous settlements.

Thousands of claims have been lodged by US firms — including 2,700 claims of less than \$ 250,000 each. Analysts predict that the tribunal's work will take at least 10 years to complete.

Petrochemicals complex in trouble

Failure to make a scheduled interest payment on a Japanese loan has raised fears that the government may be preparing to abandon the \$ 4,000 million joint-venture petrochemicals complex at Bandar Khomeini. The 10,400 million yen (\$ 55 million) payment was to have been completed by 10 February, but Iranian officials are reported to have told Japan it will not be made.

The Bandar Khomeini complex was 85 per cent complete when construction was halted first by the 1979 revolution, and again soon after the start of the Gulf war. The complex is owned by the *Iran-Japan Petrochemical Company (IJPC)*, a joint venture between Iran's *National Petrochemical Company (NPC)* and the *Iran Chemical Development Company (ICDC)*, a Japanese consortium led by the *Mitsui Group*.

The repayment was to have covered three loans: 28,800 million yen (\$ 153 million) from the Export-Import Bank of Japan (Eximbank), 60,000 million yen (\$ 320 million) from a

syndicate of Eximbank and various commercial banks, and 36,200 million yen (\$ 192 million) from the same syndicate, arranged through Mitsui.

ICDC provided a further 125,000 million yen (\$ 665 million) in financing for the scheme; repayments on this loan were stopped by the Iranian authorities in May 1984, after ICDC had withdrawn its technicians from the site in the Gulf war zone. Total Japanese funding for the project comes to 250,000 million yen (\$ 1,330 million).

Japanese officials say that, in refusing to make the payment, Iranian officials indicated that the decision was not due to technical problems. Observers in Japan think Iran may have postponed completion of the project indefinitely. In April 1985, the majlis (parliament) rejected a supplementary agreement signed two years earlier by NPC and ICDC. This called for Iran to assume all additional expenses, including those resulting from war damage; in addition, Japan was to be allowed to reduce its 50 per cent stake in IJPC.

Japanese finance specialists are quoted as saying that the failure to repay Eximbank is more serious than the earlier problems with ICDC. The bank may declare Iran in default, making it impossible for the scheme to continue. This would enable the Mitsui group to collect export insurance totalling 81,200 million yen (\$ 430 million). However, political considerations mean the Japanese government is unlikely to declare a default in the near future.

Santa Fe awarded \$ 19 million

US-based *Santa Fe International Corporation* has reached a \$ 19 million settlement with *National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC)* at the special US-Iran claims tribunal in the Hague. The settlement of two claims was approved by the tribunal on 7 February.

Santa Fe, which was taken over by *Kuwait Petroleum Corporation* in late 1981, lodged its claim with the tribunal in January 1981. The company had been drilling for oil in southern Iran.

The settlement is one of several involving US and western oil companies in recent months (see above). In January, *Chevron Oil Corporation* received \$ 115 million; in late 1985, *British Petroleum* was paid \$ 150 million-200 million (MEED 1:2:86).

Budget faces cutbacks

The budget for the year starting 21 March could be cut severely, according to the majlis (parliament) Plan & Budget Committee spokesman. Oil revenues in 1985/86 and 1986/87 will be far below government projections, Qorban-Ali Dorri Najafabadi told the majlis in mid-February.

Najafabadi predicted that oil revenues this Iranian year will not exceed IR 1.2 million million (\$ 13,500 million), compared with the IR 1.9 million million (\$ 21,000 million) budgeted by the government. He added that the majlis could not accept the government's proposed figure of IR 1.6 million million (\$ 18,260 million) for 1986/87. A total of IR 1.3 million million-1.4 million million (\$ 14,600 million-15,700 million) is more realistic, he said.

The government presented its 1986/87 budget in December; it set total expenditure at about \$ 42,000 million (MEED 7:12:85). The majlis has to approve the budget before 21 March.

Najafabadi, an Islamic economist, has long been one of the most outspoken critics of government economic policy. He has also tended to underestimate oil revenue — although his predictions have been nearer actual earnings than government figures.

Oil exports in 1985/86 are believed to have averaged about 1.5 million barrels a day (b/d). However, the recent big drop in oil prices has prompted the government to reduce exports to about 1 million b/d. If prices do not rise in the coming months, earnings could drop below even Najafabadi's estimate.

IN BRIEF

• Denmark has received a \$ 32 million order for 24,000 tons of feta cheese. The contract was won against stiff West German and Dutch competition. Further orders are expected.

• The Mostazafin (deprived) Foundation has given \$ 1,900 million in cash and goods since 1979 to the poor, some revolutionary organisations, and the war effort. The official Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA) says the figure does not include land given to farmers and 11,159 homes built by the foundation and sold on easy terms to low-income families.

• The World Health Organisation (WHO) is to provide technical help to the pharmaceuticals industry. It was announced after a recent WHO visit to Tehran.

o Pharmaceuticals imports in the first half of the Iranian year started 21 March 1985 totalled \$ 103 million, satisfying 22.6 per cent of local demand. Local producers supplied \$ 356 million worth (MEED 11:1:86; 24:8:85).

o French and Iranian teams have met to discuss the repayment of a \$ 1,000 million deposit frozen by France in late 1979 (MEED 15:2:86). The mid-February talks in Paris were led by deputy economy and finance minister Mehdi Navvab and Jacques Martin, a special envoy of France's President Mitterrand. No communique was issued after the meeting, but both sides say France has agreed to repay the money; discussion was limited to repayment terms.

o Italy's Foreign Trade Minister Nicola Capria is to visit Tehran within the next two months for a meeting of the Iranian-Italian commission. The trip, originally planned for 12-15 February, was postponed because bad weather in Rome prevented Capria's aircraft from taking off. The Italians want to discuss the \$ 700 million *Societa Italiana per Condotte d'Acqua* says it is owed for building the Shahid Rajai port complex near Bandar Abbas. Other issues are Italy's deficit on trade with Iran, which reached \$ 875 million in the first 10 months of 1985, and the possible extension of cover by export credits guarantee agency SACE to recent projects for power stations, petrochemicals plants and oil pipelines.

o The *National Iranian Tanker Company* has chartered the 390,038-dwt *Energy Explorer* for use as a seventh storage tanker off Sirri island (MEED 15:2:86).

o A Tehran court has ordered the daily *Bourse* to close because its owner is not "politically qualified." The daily had been appearing under a temporary licence since the press commission ordered it to cease publishing 18 months ago. Owner-editor Youssef Rahmati, who ran the paper for 20 years under the Shah's regime, said he would contest the court decision.

o The UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office says it is possible that Iran was within its rights in boarding the 21,747-ton *Barber Perseus* in January (MEED 18:1:86). The US has reacted in a similar vein to the boarding of one of its ships near the Strait of Hormuz.

o Security guards shot and killed one man and captured four others who were planning to hijack a Tehran-bound aircraft at Isfahan airport, according to the official Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA). No one else was hurt in the shoot-out in the airport departure lounge. The would-be hijackers are said to belong to the leftist Muslim Mojaheddin-e Khalq guerrilla organisation.

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CSO: 4600/237

BRIEFS

NONOIL EXPORTS RISE--Tehran, Feb. 22, IRNA--Iran's non-oil exports rose by over 23 percent reaching 3.5 billion rials (Dls 42m) in the Iranian month of Day (December 22-January 20), compared to the corresponding period last year. The exports totaled 24,000 tons in weight and 3.47 billion rials in value, according to a report by Iran's Central Bank. In the same period over 95 billion rials of goods were imported. The figure shows 22.7 percent increase compared to last year's figures. Some 73,000 passengers including 24,000 foreigners arrived in Iran while 75,000 including 24,000 non-Iranians left the country in the same month. [Text] [Tehran IRNA in English 1728 GMT 22 Feb 86 LD] /6662

MULTIPURPOSE JETTY CONSTRUCTED--Bandar 'Abbas (KEYHAN correspondent)--A multipurpose jetty at Jask was declared open yesterday in the presence of the ministers of road and transportation and economics and finance. The jetty cost 1.8 billion rials. It includes a 2,700 square meter covered warehouse, a 3,000 square meter open warehouse, and a passenger terminal building. It is one of the 14 multipurpose jetties to be constructed along the Persian Gulf coast or now under construction. According to the report, the port installations at Jask include one jetty 130 meters long; ships up to 2,000 tons can berth alongside. Construction of the jetty will help the port load and unload up to 4,000 tons in goods per year and will save the country 20 billion rials in foreign exchange. [Text] [Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 12 Feb 86 p 17 GF] /6662

CSO: 4640/215

PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY CRITICIZED

Karachi JANG in Urdu 18 Jan 86 p 3

[Speech by Maulana Kausar Niazi: "What Is Direction of Our Foreign Policy?"]

[Excerpts] I gave the following speech in the joint meeting of the Senate and the National Assembly. I could speak for only 15 minutes and I finished exactly on time. With the help of the parliamentary record, I have been able to write down the speech and present it in its entirety to our readers. Kausar Niazi

Mr Speaker! I am aware that the open discussion and criticism of our foreign policy is a delicate and touchy matter; one has to be very careful about discussing other countries.

But we are at the crossroads of history and the destiny of 90 million Pakistanis is at stake. It is a question of national honor and dignity.

Mr Speaker! At present the problem of Afghanistan is the first priority of our foreign policy. At the time when we should have studied all aspects of the problem and used vision in solving it, we did not do so. There were two ways of solving the problem. Let us see how far we have progressed in carrying these two ways to their logical conclusions.

One way to solve the problem would have been to recognize the Karmal regime without hesitation. After all, we recognized the governments of Amin and Taraki both of whom were communists and came into office with Russian help. We recognized Bangladesh which was a part of us and was separated from us by India's armed intervention. Why would it have been so terrible to recognize the fact that the Karmal government was in office in Kabul? Perhaps by recognizing it we would have avoided the problems that are arising in regard to indirect and direct negotiations.

We did not do so. Well, one may say that we did the right thing. There are arguments in favor of the stand as well as against it. When we did not recognize the Karmal government, we should also have taken certain logical steps that such an action demanded. We should not have allowed the Karmal government to obtain a seat in the United Nations. The Karmal government has been a member of the United Nations for the last 6 years and we have been sitting next to it. We did not even set up a Kabul government in exile which would then have sat

in the United Nations. There are precedents for this: Sihanouk has established a government in exile in China. A different government rules in Kampuchea, but Sihanouk and not the Kampuchean Government sits in the United Nations. I am not saying that an Afghan Government in exile should have been established in Pakistan; it could have been set up anywhere through the OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference]. If this had been done, pressure by the United Nations and Afghanistan's domestic situation would have forced Russia to negotiate with this government in exile and the problem would not have been our headache. We could not even prevent the Karmal government from joining the nonaligned organization. As it is, they are a member also and we both participate in its meetings.

We took such a hard stand in the OIC that we closed the door to any direct negotiations. The situation now is that indirect negotiations are deadlocked; Russia will not announce a timetable for the withdrawal of its forces; we cannot undertake direct negotiations for fear of offending China, the United States, Iran, Saudi Arabia and many other countries and turning the mujahidin against us. We seem to be stuck in a morass or to have come to a standstill in a cul-de-sac with no chance of getting out. God alone knows how we will solve this problem.

As a result of involving our country in this messy problem, we are in confrontation with a superpower who is accusing us of armed intervention in Afghanistan. We deny this, but the United States says that Pakistan is lying because several billion dollars' worth of weapons have been sent to the mujahidin by way of Pakistan. If you do not believe this, take a look at a recent article in TIME entitled "Leak in the Pipeline," which details the supply of weapons to Pakistan for use against Afghanistan. The result of such open confrontation with a superpower has been that, according to our experienced minister of interior, 300,000 Kalashnikov rifles have reached the tribal areas of the Northwest Frontier Province from Russia. The question is, what will be the result of all this? Have we forgotten the time when we gave an air base in Peshawar to the United States and Krushchev said that he had put a red mark beside Peshawar on the map? Russia's intentions at the present time are revealed by the statement made by Kapista [Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister] in an interview given to the able editor of MUSLIM, Mushahid Hussein Sayyed. Kapista said openly that in any dispute between India and her neighbors, Russia will take India's side. Such a statement does not show a regard for principles. We expect a great power like Russia to uphold justice, not show such blind partiality. But it is also pertinent to ask why Russia has hardened its stand. Have we given any thought to the future? If Rajiv Gandhi draws closer to the United States to obtain high technology and Russia eases its stand, have we left open the door to better relations with Russia?

Mr Speaker! It is true that the Afghanistan problem has brought short term benefits to Pakistan. In 1979, we were isolated from the world. Even our friends were angry with us because of a certain domestic incident. As a result of the Afghanistan problem, the West has realized for the first time that we occupy a strategic position. The United States, which had suspended aid, offered it again on its own initiative. But the question is, to what extent

have we benefitted from these altered circumstances? Has the aid that we are now receiving improved our economic condition? Have we completed our nuclear research program? Have we become self-sufficient or has our dependence on the United States increased? The fact is that our debts have increased by 50 percent. During the last 5 years, we borrowed \$3 billion from the United States. Our able minister of the treasury announced in Korea that, in the 1987 package, we will borrow \$6 billion. The question that deserves attention here is whether we will be paying for the military hardware or receiving it as aid. If we receive military aid, will we not have to give something in return? Will this not involve the inspection of Kahuta installations? Will we not be expected to soften our stand on Israel? Will we not be used against Iran? After all, such an extensive military aid will not be given as alms or as an act of charity. We will have to give something in return and what will that be? I demand that our able minister of the treasury and laudable minister of foreign affairs elucidate the matter. The other important foreign policy issue concerns our relations with India. As Muslims, it is part of our faith to improve relations with our neighbors. We signed the Simla agreement 13 years ago in the same spirit. This was also a kind of "no war" pact in which it was announced that we would solve our disputes through negotiation. The present government is going ahead on the same path and in the same spirit. We support this, but improving relations is one thing and strengthening friendship is another. Living nations learn from the past. How can we forget the bitter fact that India divided our country, that it fought against us, that 90,000 of our soldiers were prisoners of war in Indian camps? Even today, Rajiv Gandhi says that India and Pakistan are one country and that the British drew artificial boundary lines between them. Thus, whatever we do will have to be done with great care and caution lest India get the opportunity to create a political cell in this remaining part of our country as it did in East Pakistan and cultivate certain elements with a view to divide Pakistan.

Another aspect of Pakistani-Indian relations concerns our national dignity and collective ego. Regrettably, all the visits on the leadership level were from our side. The stopover of 17 December was not a visit: it was maneuvered by us. Anyway, what did we gain from this visit? A mere verbal promise that we will not attack each other's installations. But the question is, were they going to attack us? Because of the F-16s they were fearful for their own safety. Mr Subramaniam, a high level advisor on Indian defense, is on record as saying in an interview in Nepal 2 months ago that India would not attack because such an act would be self-destructive. This was a verbal promise; the true state of affairs will emerge in the meeting of secretaries when they will insist on a treaty of friendship. But friendship can come about only after all quarrels are settled. Have we settled all our disputes? Has the problem of Kashmir been solved? Has the Rann of Kutch dispute been resolved? Has the Siachin issue been settled? If not, how can we announce that we are friends?

We should by all means improve relations with India but in a manner that does not injure our sovereignty and independence. What should one call our style when we announce the expected visit of Rajiv Gandhi as: "Mr Rajiv Gandhi has kindly agreed to visit Pakistan?" Good manners on a personal level are quite

different from the etiquette that should be observed on a state level. On an official level, what is required is not humility, but dignity and reserve.

We allowed Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan to visit India. That was the correct thing to do. It is his right as a free citizen to travel to any place he wishes. Although I do not agree with him on a number of issues, I acknowledge his sacrifices and services during the war of liberation. But the decision to allow him to go to India should have been made in Pakistan and not because Rajiv Gandhi asked for it at the SAARC conference in Dhaka. Now we have suffered a serious loss of dignity. This venerable man which yesterday was dragged around by the police is now being sent to India in a special plane. At one time called the Gandhi of the Frontier, this poor man was not even allowed to enter Mianwali. He is now being sent to India like a head of state.

What kind of sovereignty is this that when India demands that a certain individual should not be allowed into Pakistan, we reply, "Yes sir, no Sikh leader will be given a visa to enter Pakistan." When India says that a certain Pakistani leader should be sent to India, we reply, "Yes sir, we will not only give him an NOC [no objection certificate] but will also provide him with a special plane free of charge?"

Mr Speaker! I realize that there are many problems and not much time left for me to speak. I have presented my views on a few aspects of foreign policy. If I had the time, I would talk about several other aspects. I would draw the Assembly's attention to the deplorable condition of the Muslims of Bihar who have emigrated twice for the sake of Pakistan and who are more sincere Pakistanis than we. I demand that a Prime Minister's Fund be established to bring them to Pakistan. If I had the time, I would point out how we have not succeeded as yet in designating Pakistan's borders; how we have failed to win acceptance for the Durand Line and to define our borders in the Rann of Kutch; how we have handed over 2,000 square miles of the Siachin Glacier area to India because we say that not even a blade of grass grows there. If I had the time, I would have asked why, on the one hand, we are doubling and trebling our trade with India, while, on the other hand, we have reduced our trade with a tested and true friend like China over the last few years. I would have pointed out how, in spite of all our slogan-shouting about the unity of the Islamic world, we are close to only those Muslim countries that are the friends of the United States; we are cold towards Syria, Libya, Iran, Algeria and South Yemen. If I had time, I would point out that Pakistani nationals are being told to leave foreign countries; even our friends hesitate to issue visas to Pakistani nationals to enter their countries. I would mention how certain favored Pakistani ambassadors in foreign countries get extension after extension of their term of office while competent and deserving officials of the Foreign Office are deprived of their rights. Unfortunately, the shortage of time does not allow me to speak of any of these matters. I end my speech with the thought expressed in this couplet: There should be no need to cry a flood of tears; if tears have effect, then two should be sufficient.

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CSO: 4656/45

LETTER WRITER OFFERS VIEWS ON LIFTING OF MARTIAL LAW

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 23 Jan 86 pp 3-4

[Text] Begum Abida Hussain, Member of the National Assembly and wife of the Speaker of that 'august' body, is reported to have observed at a Press forum in Karachi that General Ziaul Haq had given democracy as a 'gift.' She is further reported to have said: "We have not fought for it."

While this statement is a blatant insult to the nation, specially to those who fell fighting or remained incarcerated for years, not in tens or hundreds but in thousands, for restoration of democracy, it may be true of Begum Abida and those in whose company she sits in what is called a 'sovereign Parliament.'

General Zia, it is true, was not forced to concede 'mutilated' democracy by a revolution or street power. Nevertheless he was forced to concede whatever he has conceded by sustained efforts of the politically conscious and deprived people who demonstrated, through courageous defiance, that they could not accept anything other than a representative system. Why were the elections postponed twice? The way the referendum was held and the people's response to it are public knowledge.

During the 102-month-long Martial Law the activists suffered imprisonment and whipping and Sind went through fire and blood. All this further alienated the people internally and internationally. The reports of Amnesty International are full of evidence of arbitrary arrests, whippings, military trials, torture of detenus and hangings without judicial trials.

However, the sustained defiance and unprecedented courage of the people forced the rulers to relax, come out of the military bureaucratic shell and seek allies among those who have been betraying tested Muslim Leaguers. The compulsion came through economic factors.

Expenditure on law and order (Police) increased from Rs 827 million in 1976-77 to Rs 1,636 million in 1984-85 (100 percent). Defence expenditure increased from Rs 9,668 million in 1976-77 to Rs 33,063 million (242 percent increase) in 1985-86. This increased expenditure resulted in higher taxation, declining savings, higher deficits, rising inflation, and less

money being available for even maintenance of national assets. Of course, patronage of the private sector and pampering of the feudals, through credit and subsidies, saved the privileged from the crushing burden which the people of Pakistan had to carry on their weak shoulders.

The rulers balanced their expenditure and privileges by begging for loans which increased from 6.34 billion in 1976-77 to \$14 billion by the end of June 1985, raising debt service obligation from \$332 million to \$963 million (about 300 percent increase) during the same period. Due to lack of funds, no improvement in the transport system and no new addition to power generation plants have been registered. People's problems of transport, education, health and employment multiplied manifold. Industrial expansion came to a standstill. Somebody else is needed to take the blame.

Another reason for giving the 'gift' has been the adverse publicity the people's defiance and their suppression brought to the rulers in the comity of democratic nations.--A.B., Federal Area, Karachi

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CSO: 4600/213

WALI KHAN ADDRESSES NDP MEETING

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Jan 86 p 1

[Text] Peshawar, Jan 24--Khan Abdul Wali Khan has cautioned that the policy of continued confrontation on the Afghanistan issue would compel the aggrieved Pakhtoons to chalk out their own course.

Addressing a largely attended first public meeting of the National Democratic Party after the lifting of Martial Law at Jinnah Park on Friday, Mr Wali Khan said the Pakhtoons would not allow the spilling of their blood and devastation of their land on either side of Durand Line for any longer period.

Red flags and banners fluttered all over the Park as buses and vehicles brought slogan-chanting NDP workers from far flung areas to the venue of the meeting.

Volunteers wearing red uniforms maintained discipline and led the cheers and slogan-raising in the meeting. All top brass of the NDP was present including the Party leaders who were here to attend the Central Council meeting.

Surprisingly the leaders of the NAP Pakhtoonkhawa from Baluchistan also attended the public meeting.

Abdul Wali Khan reiterated his contention that Pakistan has been made subservient to the American interest especially in the context of Afghanistan. He said the war in Afghanistan was being fought to serve the American and Soviet interest. But he said, the ravages of war were being felt by the Pakhtoons.

The NDP President maintained that direct talks between Islamabad and Kabul offered the only solution to the Afghan crisis adding that Pakistan may bypass in case the United States and Soviet Union reached a settlement on major issues. Wali Khan was not impressed by the logic of ideological opposition to the Soviet Union because it negated Pakistan's friendship with another Communist country, China. He alleged that Pakistan was choosing its friends and enemies according to America's whims, one such indication was Islamabad's intriguing silence on the US threat to Libya.

The NDP chief did not believe that the war in Afghanistan was a Jihad. He alleged that the Jamaat-e-Islami was interested only in collecting the war bounty.

He warned that if Jamaat-e-Islami continued to arm the Afghan refugees and involve them in the local politics others would be justified in calling upon their own friends from across the borders to come to their help.

Wali Khan asked the refugees to live here as guest and brothers without getting themselves involved in the local politics. He said the Khyber Agency operation was part of a conspiracy to create rift within the Pakhtoon ranks. The NDP leader remarked that for all practical purposes the Durand Line has lost its relevance as lakhs of Afghan refugees were crossing it at their will without any hindrance.

Referring to Thursday's bomb explosion in Peshawar, Wali Khan said it was a danger signal. Recalling his earlier warnings regarding the deteriorating law and order situation owing to the piling up of weapons in the area, he said stage has now been reached when nothing is safe now.

Reiterating his stand on Kalabagh Dam, Wali Khan vowed to bomb it if the authorities went ahead with the project despite the opposition from the Pakhtoons.

Wali Khan stressed that the Pakhtoons were willing to live as equal partners in a Federal Pakistan but not as 'slaves.' If brotherhood was not accorded to them they may be pushed to choose their own separate ways.

He called on his audience to follow the golden ideals of Bacha Khan.

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CSO: 4600/213

DEMAND FOR SARAIKI PROVINCE REITERATED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Jan 86 p 8

[Text] Lahore, Jan 24--The leaders of the Saraiki Suba Mahaz have demanded the demarcation of a separate Saraiki Suba, consisting of the area included in D.G. Khan, Bahawalpur and Multan Divisions, Mianwali, Bakkhar and Jhang Districts, as this was necessary for the uplift of the people and the social, economic and political development of this most undeveloped and neglected area of Punjab.

Addressing a reception in honour of the central leadership of the Saraiki Suba Muhaz by the Lahore branch, Taj Mohammad Langah, Zaman Zaffari, Walayat Hussain Gardezi, Malik Abdul Hamid, Fazalut Rahman Niazi and Dr Mahar Abdul Khaliq, spoke at length on the issue of a Saraiki Suba. Dr Mubashar Hassan also met the leaders of the Mahaz and held discussions on these demands. In principle, he said, he stood for cultural freedom and maximum autonomy for different units. He also supported the demand for a Saraiki Suba.

Mr Taj Mohammad Langah said that the Saraiki Suba Mahaz was engaged in a struggle for the restoration of democracy, along with the other democratic forces of the country. He demanded that after the achievement of this goal, the people of the Saraiki-speaking area would be given the status of the fifth federating unit of Pakistan. He pointed out that the doors for the development of the Saraiki-speaking area had remained closed and people were being deprived of their basic rights. Explaining his point further, he said the land in this area was not being given to the poverty-stricken people but to army officers, civil bureaucrats and displaced persons of Tarbela and Mangla Dam areas. He disclosed that the Government was planning to settle two and half lakh Bikaris in the area and that this move would be resisted.

Taj Mohammad Langah said that the Punjab had 50 percent share in the Federal Government services out of which the number of government employees of Saraiki-speaking origin amounted to only 1.2 percent. He also said that the worst-affected area due to the closure of the Chashma-Jhelum Link Canal was that of the Saraiki-speaking districts.

Politically speaking, he said all the smaller provinces had been agitating against the supremacy of Punjab.

/9317

CSO: 4600/213

POLITICAL PRISONERS: CHANGE IN REGIME'S ATTITUDE URGED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 23 Jan 86 p 7

[Text] An unnamed Punjab Government spokesman has again said categorically that there are no political prisoners in any Punjab jail, and that Press reports to the contrary are baseless.

His further clarification reveals that the persistent confusion on the subject is a result of the disparity in the categorisation of these prisoners. A debate has been going on in all provinces between Government spokesmen and those demanding the release of all political prisoners, particularly now that Martial Law has been lifted. Political parties and Political Prisoners' Release Committees have claimed that there are at least 45 political prisoners in NWFP jails, as many as 143 such prisoners in Sind and Baluchistan, and 78 in the Punjab. On the other hand, Government representatives have said either that there are no political prisoners or only a very small number.

Smokescreen

The Punjab Government has at long last swept away the smokescreen by stating that those considered political prisoners by the others were convicted by military courts for various crimes, including acts of terrorism, and were undergoing imprisonment like other criminals. This was mandated by CML0-8 which laid down that all those sentenced under Martial Law Regulations should be treated as ordinary prisoners irrespective of their status. Presumably, this MLO is protected by the Eighth Amendment. The Punjab Government, is, however, graciously prepared to consider deserving cases for the grant of special class in accordance with their social, educational or financial status on the production of documentary evidence by the prisoners' relations.

Indemnity and Amnesty

The primary question is not really that of the treatment meted out to political prisoners sentenced under Martial Law Regulations, but whether they should at all be kept in jails now. Generally, in circumstances of the sort that prevailed in this country for more than eight years, indemnity of all acts done by Authority is accompanied by an amnesty for all prisoners

punished and detained by the regime during its period of rule. This should be done now without further delay.

On the subject of categorisation, the Muslim League's General Secretary, Malik Qasim, has made the sensible suggestion that to determine the matter the Government should publish a list of all such prisoners and give details of the charges on which they were indicted. He goes on to point out that under the U.N. Human Rights Charter (and he refers also to Rule 225 of the Pakistan Prisons Manual), a political prisoner is one who commits an act for no personal gain but for political motives. This general principle, whether or not it is stipulated in any Pakistan code or rules, cannot be ignored or easily overridden. The Government would, therefore, be well-advised to treat all detainees as political prisoners and give them the facilities that have traditionally been accorded to politicals even during the worst days of the British raj.

Better still, the Government should change its attitude towards all persons who were jailed, either by military or civil courts acting under the draconian laws then in force, and order their release, so that a more congenial political atmosphere can be generated for setting in motion a political process that will take Pakistan back (or forward) to normalcy.

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